Daily Report

Latin America

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FBIS-LAT-94-022 *2 February 1994*

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Bolivian President Interviewed on Mercosur

PY0102125794 Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish
25 Jan 94 p 8

["Exclusive" interview with Bolivian President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada by an unidentified EL PAIS reporter during his visit to Colonia del Sacramento, Uruguay for the Common Market of the South, Mercosur, summit on 17 January]

[Text] [EL PAIS] You have often said that Bolivia is trying to be like "Dona Flor and her two husbands" [reference to novel by Brazilian writer Jorge Amado]. What exactly does that mean?

[Sanchez de Lozada] Well, I said that because, above all, Bolivia has three destinies: one linked to the River Plate region, another to the Amazon River region, and the third to the Pacific Ocean. I think that beyond this remark, our presence here in Uruguay is the result of our belief that our destiny linked to the River Plate region is the strongest one. Our immediate and future realities are closely linked to the Parana-Paraguay River Waterway. We hope that, based on agreements reached between Uruguay and Argentina, these two countries can establish with the others that will join them in this waterway an organization that can integrate them all. For Bolivia, this waterway represents an outlet to the sea. It will protect the eastern region of our country, where there is great potential in the exploitation of iron, gas, and soybeans. In this regard river transportation is really decisive. Our presence and closeness with Mercosur becomes, therefore, a priority. Just like Dona Flor, we would like to have two husbands (Mercosur and the Andean Pact). It seems, however, that our priority is Mercosur. This is why we want to hold bold, but prudent, talks. We want to become part of the locomotive instead of waiting to be run over by it. We believe that the locomotive is here, that it is the critical argument that will allow us to negotiate with the other economic blocs. In addition to that, our destiny is closely linked to this river basin that permits everything to become a unity instead of a diversity.

[EL PAIS] Why do you link the waterway to the River Plate? Institutionally, they are two different things.

[Sanchez de Lozada] It is very hard to separate a tree from its roots. The whole thing begins here. We can separate the two things, but we believe that our concept of fresh water and cheap, effective transportation is a way of reaching the other parts of the world. It is the destiny of all countries, particularly the landlocked ones, to find a sea outlet. This cannot be done unless we join the River Plate system. This is not an imposition, but it seems to apply. In addition, Argentina and Uruguay had to overcome several difficulties, and needed a lot of time before achieving the experience they now have. A joint administration is the first step toward achieving an administrative system similar to those prevailing in several other international river systems. It would be an administrative support to this exceedingly complex system.

[EL PAIS] Does Paraguay agree to this position?

[Sanchez de Lozada] Yes, I believe it does. We are very close to Paraguay. Our relations have changed very much after decades of susceptibilities and clashes resulting from the Chaco War. In this radical change, the Bolivian and Paraguayan leaders are reaching a level of relations that had already been achieved by our peoples. I also believe that our landlocked situation strongly unites us as a result of our geographical and socioeconomic realities.

[EL PAIS] You talked about the possibility of seeking a way of integration between Bolivia and Mercosur through a free trade zone. In this regard what could be obtained, taking into account that for five years Bolivia cannot become a Mercosur member?

[Sanchez de Lozada] ...No, in 1996... but if there is the political will, we could become a member tomorrow. If there is consensus, an exception could be made. This is what we seek: By being an observer, we are linked to Mercosur; it is a bit uncomfortable, but we are linked to it. Seeking a free trade zone is like supporting Mercosur; although it is still not a common market, it has no tariff. Therefore, it is a bit like getting to the point where the other countries already are. And as an observer, it is watching the negotiations for a free trade agreement, trying to find the political, juridical, and economic conditions to become a full member. But we must move with great prudence and care, because we have other relations and commitments. I came here above all seeking the political will of the four countries to make Bolivia become a Mercosur member, seeking a greater commitment. I believe there is a will; otherwise I would have not been invited. But there is still a long way to go. It is a way to open the path.

[EL PAIS] Is your visit to Uruguay next March related to this issue?

[Sanchez de Lozada] It has to do with this issue, but also with the relations with Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, which are very important to us.

[EL PAIS] Another issue proposed by Bolivia is the revival of Urupabol [Permanent Joint Commission of Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia]. What use would you have for this group, which in some ways already failed during the decade of the sixties?

[Sanchez de Lozada] Yes, it failed because that was another time. I see the time as being very appropriate now, because it involves three small countries. Uruguay is in another stage of its socioeconomic development, just like Paraguay and Bolivia. But if these countries unite, they can make a greater impact under current conditions. I believe this is like a hand with five fingers. And the three of us have to face the pressures from Brazil and Argentina. Although the situation has changed, the

relative size of our countries make us feel united in many ways, and there is also a lot of affinity and closeness on international issues. There are historical interests, and therefore it is a great advantage to have a common area. This is something very informal, thank God, it is a wish, but sometimes that is the most effective. Sometimes a friendship is more valuable than an event.

[EL PAIS] Your country has in the Andean Pact a special treatment on tariffs. Would Bolivia be willing to accept integration into a group like Mercosur, in which high tariffs are proposed for some products to protect an industry? Would your country be willing to join even when it has always enjoyed low tariffs? Would it pay that price?

[Sanchez de Lozada] We will see about paying the price. What we want is to participate, and to convince the large nations that high tariffs are a way of guaranteeing that their industries will never be competitive. We are not dogmatic, but a very poor country like Bolivia has come to the conclusion that protectionism stops the absorption of advanced technology. Because it is only human nature—when a businessman is protected, he will not seek competition. And one of the reasons why we want to participate is because we believe that sometimes logic, explanation, and experience have a great deal of influence, especially in countries which are facing very powerful sectors. It is like the case of an angel speaking in one ear and the devil speaking in the other, but one must listen. The exchange of experience is obviously important; if one wants something valuable an effort must be made to get it. But I believe one of the reasons why we want to participate fully in Mercosur is because this process could stop. Bolivia cannot force anybody, but it may have ideas for the future to help this process come to a happy conclusion.

[EL PAIS] From your point of view as Bolivian president, what is the future of the Andean Pact? Apparently there is a bloc that functions well; Venezuela and Colombia, and the rest were left behind.

[Sanchez de Lozada] Yes, this is a complex situation. Remember that for various reasons our activities and attention have been especially dedicated to Chile and to Mercosur. We are planning to start in the next few months to look at the real situation of the Andean market. What happened is that the domestic political struggle is so intense that I am only now beginning to look at the world and the context in which the country is living since I was inaugurated. Based on the activities in which we are involved, we know there is a long way to get there. But we are trying to get closer to Mercosur because we believe it is more valid and hopeful.

[EL PAIS] And how do you see the "Amazon Initiative" started by Brazil?

[Sanchez de Lozada] Brazil believes that this should be enlarged, and that impulse should be given to a Latin American free trade common market. But we believe this will not occur until a locomotive exists. And the locomotive is Mercosur.

[EL PAIS] How are current relations between your country and Chile?

[Sanchez de Lozada] I believe substantial changes have occurred. My visit to Santiago, Chile, last October was very important. Bolivia and Chile are changing a lot, and we do not know what that means. But they are no longer the countries they were. It is an irony, but sometimes countries change more quickly than their leaders. We are carrying out polls in Bolivia and Chile, and it seems that our people have left us behind. We continue to look at the past, and they are looking at the future. But sometimes deep inside people there are still attitudes that only time will change. But we see changes among people, such as Frei's election, and my election, representing countries that are changing. Perhaps this means that problems that had no solution will have one now, but I cannot guarantee anything. One should be careful.

[EL PAIS] Are there still talks on the issue of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Chile?

[Sanchez de Lozada] I would say not. Some people in Chile and Bolivia believe that the best of relations is not to have relations, and there are other people who believe it is very difficult to fight with someone if no relations exist. I believe relations could be established very soon, or they could be delayed. We want the steps to be taken to be not only symbolic, but truly effective. We are not putting forward conditions or demands, but want to move with boldness, but at the same time prudence.

Foreign Minister Believes Gaviria Will Not Get OAS Post

PA0102214794 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1808 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 28 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Costa Rican Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus considers Colombian President Cesar Gaviria's hope of getting elected to the OAS general secretariat post has failed following the "no" he received in Central America.

Niehaus, who is also working to replace Brazilian Joao Clemente Baena Soares at the head of the OAS, told ACAN-EFE that Colombia's intense efforts at the inauguration ceremony of new Honduran President Carlos Roberto Reina were their "last attempts" in this direction. Central American support for Niehaus was, he asserted, "absolute and total." "I feel that this (the efforts made in Honduras) was the decisive point and that the Colombian foreign minister (Noemi Sanin) will recommend that the president desist from running as an official candidate, because he has no possibility of winning the race," Niehaus added.

Alfredo Cristiani, president of El Salvador, Ramiro de Leon, of Guatemala, and the new Honduran chief of

state publicly expressed support of Niehaus for the OAS post. Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro, who also attended Reina's inauguration, termed "perfect" Gaviria's desire and, showing a change of position, did not say who she would support alleging that "the vote is secret."

Niehaus told ACAN-EFE that Nicaragua has reiterated its support and that the Nicaraguan president's expressions appear to be "diplomatic words" in view of Gaviria's presence in Tegucigalpa. The Colombian chief of state was the only non Central American president who attended the Honduran inauguration and took advantage of his visit to make a stopover in Panama and to visit El Salvador today. Panamanian President Guillermo Endara, who did not go to Honduras, reiterated last week that Panama will vote for Niehaus. He said so during the visit by Foreign Minister Noemi Sanin to sound out possible support for Gaviria to the OAS post.

The Costa Rican foreign minister said that he has 23 votes guaranteed for the 27 March election while only 18 are needed to win.

Former Venezuelan Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Burelli, a third candidate to the post, told ACAN-EFE that the figures cited by Niehaus "are inflated."

For his part, the Costa Rican foreign minister insisted today he has the support of the six Central American countries, the 13 countries of the Caribbean, who are committed to him in a letter of the regional economic cooperation organization, Caricom [Caribbean Common Market], and also the support of the Dominican Republic, Chile, Ecuador, and Argentina. Niehaus insisted that it is a "just" desire based on the principle of rotation, that Central America and the Caribbean occupy, for the first time in history, the OAS secretariat.

Burelli said that to try to "subregionalize" the organization and impose a numeric force of small countries on the democratic importance and economic support of the large countries could do away with the OAS or promote a "small security council" with UN-style veto power.

Niehaus, however, rejected the power that the large countries have had in OAS executive posts and recalled that the organization is based on the equality of states, regardless of their size and population. Although he considered it acceptable that Burelli vie for the post since Venezuela has never held it, he stated it would be "unacceptable" to give it to Colombia "for the third time."

Regarding the possibility of Gaviria as a candidate, something that has not been made official, he agreed with Burelli that there would be an anomaly to elect him secretary in March for him to take office in June when he is not scheduled to leave his post until August.

Niehaus said that he hopes to leave the Foreign Ministry on 8 May, when the new Costa Rican Government that is elected 6 February takes office. "We must give an opportunity to other countries and other subregions, and not only South America," Niehaus said, expressing his intention not to go up for reelection after the first five years in the secretariat in order to give a chance to other nations. "After Central America, a Caribbean country should be next to occupy the secretariat, then a South American one," he said.

Cuba

Technical Cooperation Agreement Signed With Venezuela

FL0202031394 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Several international news agencies report that Caracas has revealed the contents of the technical cooperation agreement signed between the Health Ministries of Venezuela and Cuba, together with the World Health Organization [WHO], for the development of joint research and training. The document establishes an exchange of professional personnel, technical assistance, and advice for the preparation of sanitary projects between the Cuban and Venezuelan entities.

Furthermore, the WHO will oversee the work of the personnel assigned to the cooperation projects of the two nations.

Alarcon Discusses Tourism With Bremen Businessmen

FL0202031294 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 2 feb 94

[Text] Today, representatives from shipping and airline companies in the German city of Bremen met with Ricardo Alarcon, president of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP], on the possibility of operating in the Cuban tourism sector. A group of businessmen, who organize cruises to the Caribbean Sea, were interested in changing ports to arrive in Havana in the future. According the DPA press agency, the representatives of the (Capacloy) enterprise also analyzed the possibility of expanding their air charter services to the Caribbean, and Cuba is one of their next main destinations.

A spokesman for a German enterprise pointed out that the possibilities of investing in the hotel and restaurant sector were also analyzed.

Havana-Paris-Havana Flight Inaugurates Joint Airline

FL0202014094 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 2320 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] The inaugural flight of the new joint airline, (Ahon)-Cuban Aviation, was made yesterday. This flight will pave the way for fulfillment of the objective to crystallize greater exchange between the two airlines. Cuban-French relations will also be expanded, namely in the area of tourism.

(Michel Tayard), (Ahon's) commercial manager, told the national news agency that the new airline will begin with a weekly Havana-Paris-Havana flight. This trip will be made by a DC-30 aircraft, which will take off on Sunday from Havana to return on Monday from France.

Raul Castro Praises Provincial Fish-Farming Efforts

FL0102203294 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1902 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Army General Raul Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR], has again visited the Oriente Rebelde Cattle Enterprise in Sibanicu Municipality, Camaguey Province, where the 300-student Salvador Cisneros School was built in 45 days. Raul congratulated the teachers and students for a rewarding cultural performance, which included scenes of contemporary relevance as well as episodes from the wars of independence.

Later on, Raul met with Emilia Betancourt, president of the Oriente Rebelde People's Council, who told Raul that the local economy depends primarily on milk production, two Basic Cooperative Production Units, two credit and service cooperatives, and one farming cooperative. She added that self-sufficiency in vegetable and meat production is being promoted. Raul mentioned that Fidel had visited the area in November. Betancourt also told Raul about efforts to expand domestic fish farming in minidams and water tanks.

The tour included the Oriente Mill, the most well preserved in Cuba, which is being restored as a sugar industry museum. Raul also viewed the plaque marking two important historic moments: Ignacio Agramonte's uprising, and General Maximo Gomez' battle camp in 1896.

Omar del Risco, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba in Sibanicu, gave Raul a detailed briefing on the potential of fish farming as a food resource and added that there are plans to attain 500 metric tons of fish in 1994.

Raul also talked with fishing Vice Minister Enrique Oltuski, who pointed out that compliance with technical specifications will allow the region to produce large quantities of fish. Raul stressed the rationality of the minidam program because it produces higher yields within a smaller area and brings the food closer to the consumers. Politburo member Julian Rizo agreed with Raul, adding that 7,000 liters of milk are distributed within Camaguey without the need for long-distance transport.

Raul concluded that he will follow up on the development of this program, which will undoubtedly contribute to increasing food supplies for the people. He noted that this experience should be made available to other municipalities in the country.

Maritime Enterprise Seeks Means To End Subsidies

FL0102204294 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1908 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] The Navegacion Caribe Enterprise of the Isle of Youth will this year seek new lines of work aimed at ending subsidies and becoming profitable. This was

announced at the enterprise's annual assessment meeting. To achieve this, the enterprise will increase ship-repair services at tourist hubs in Cayo Largo del Sur and the Colony Hotel, and will charge for any type of assistance to organizations and individuals. The participants in the assessment meeting discussed measures to ensure passenger transportation, which has been effected by the shortage of spare parts, primarily for Cometa hovercrafts.

Despite these shortages and additional ferry trips between Batabano and Nueva Gerona, over 1.3 million people were transported by this enterprise in 1993.

CTC Warns of 'Traumatic Consequences' of Payroll Cutbacks

PA0102130094 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2031 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Havana, 31 Jan (EFE)—The Cuban Workers Federation (CTC), which is the sole union in the country, today warned that the payroll reduction required at many work centers "should be done gradually to avoid traumatic consequences." An editorial published by the "TRABAJADORES" weekly, which is the CTC mouthpiece, asserted: "We have to end the negative situation of inflated payrolls." Nevertheless, it added that factors other than excess personnel have a greater impact on the inefficiency of firms. The weekly said: "The payroll is certainly an element to be considered in the search for efficiency, but it is not the only one. Currently, it is quite possible that it is not the most important one in many places."

In this way, the newspaper referred to the future reorganization of the government system, which will include ministries as well as firms. The reorganization, which was announced at least three months ago and still has to be implemented, would leave thousands of workers without a job.

With this editorial, the union seems to be distancing itself from top government officials who have publicly expressed that the problem of excess personnel has to be given foremost attention because it is the key to improving productivity and profitability.

According to the CTC, more damaging than excess personnel are "the huge shortages" experienced in several firms. This includes thefts, the squandering of raw materials and fuel, the low quality of various products, and employee absenteeism.

The editorial concluded by saying: "We cannot streamline any process without the unions. They are a requirement and a condition for the process to be implemented effectively, especially if it is to be an orderly and well-handled process."

Payroll reductions and other pending economic reforms will be debated at some 80,000 assemblies called by the CTC all across the nation starting today. The main issues to be discussed at these assemblies are: the creation of a tax system, the elimination of a number of gratuities and subsidies to unprofitable firms, formulas to reduce the surplus of currency in the people's hands, and ways to get the peso to recover its buying power. However, according to an official poll, what worries CTC members most "is the future of the superfluous workers who could be fired when the payrolls are streamlined."

Once the assembly debates end, it is expected that a special National Assembly meeting will be called to start approving measures—most of which will have a negative impact on the people—that had been announced since last summer.

Roundup of Economic Activity Reported 27 Jan to 1 Feb

FL0102161894

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of fileworthy reports on economic developments in Cuba carried on Havana radio and television in Spanish between 27 January and 1 February.

Radio Reloj at 1500 GMT on 27 January reports that Isle of Youth investors have drafted their main investment goals for 1994. Maintaining the current construction projects and completing projects under way are among the main objectives. Food production, tourism, and defense programs are among those with greater impact on the economic and social development of the island. Basic services to the people will also be improved.

Radio Reloj at 2054 GMT on 27 Jan reports that approximately 2,600 housing units were completed in Pinar del Rio in 1993. Of the 14 municipalities, 13 built more housing than in 1992. The province has a 600-house plan for 1994, and is seeking to build in materials-efficient ways.

Cuba Vision Network at 0100 GMT on 28 January reports that miners in Moa received a donation from British miners of shoes, shirts, and gloves valued at $15,000.

Radio Rebelde at 0000 GMT on 28 January reports that the Bio- Alimentos research center in Moron, Ciego de Avila, has developed a new high protein feed for pigs and chickens; production will begin soon at the 1 January center in Moron Municipality.

Radio Rebelde at 1800 GMT on 29 January reports that Valencia and Havana City have signed an agreement for a supply of Pegasus buses as a cooperative gesture of solidarity to improve transport in Havana. Garbage collectors, street cleaners, containers, spare parts, and specific tools for the repair of these vehicles will also be provided. Pedro Chavez, president of the Provincial Assembly of the People's Government, stressed the importance of the agreement and announced that 30 garbage collectors, 10 street cleaners, and some 4,000 containers will begin arriving in February.

Radio Rebelde at 1800 on 29 January adds that the Carisol and Los Corales hotels were officially dedicated this morning in Santiago de Cuba and Varadero. The exploitation of these hotels, considered symbols of Cuban tourism development, will be shared by Cubanacan and the German chain LTD.

Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks at 0100 GMT on 31 January report that the Che Guevara Plant in Moa, Holguin Province, has saved more than 1.7 million pesos since September by burning oil instead of coal. This was achieved through the research carried out by Engineer Hector Agotis de Ansana, who has been conducting oil- burning tests since 1992. Fifteen kg of oil replaces a ton of coal.

Radio Reloj at 1506 GMT on 31 January reports that an experiment in minifarms is being expanded in Cienfuegos Province because results have been good. There are 180 such farms in Cienfuegos for tending cattle. Each farm has two workers only—and sometimes their families—who are responsible for 30 cows.

Radio Rebelde at 1800 GMT on 31 January announces that an eight- week master class in business law and its economic and international implications began on 31 January in Havana, under the joint auspices of the Autonomous University of Madrid and the University of Havana, sponsored by the Guitart hotel chain. Gabriel Garcia, legal director of the university, explained that "the main objective of the course is so Spain and Cuba can exchange legal experience and cooperate in the process of legislative change that could eventually take place in Cuba as a result of an increase in certain kinds of businesses, such as the tourist business." The course targets lawyers responsible for negotiating foreign investments in Cuba. Garcia explains that such a course is timely because of the "large Spanish investment in Cuba," and also because of the many other foreign investments, since there are "probably" ongoing negotiations with foreign firms that intend to set up branches in Cuba.

Radio Rebelde at 1800 GMT on 31 January reports that Las Tunas is attempting to increase the 300 mini-dairy farms in the province to 1,000 in 1994 to increase milk production. Las Tunas Province produced approximately 33 million liters of milk in 1993.

Radio Rebelde at 1000 GMT on 31 January reports that Pedro Ross said in a meeting with workers from the 14 de Julio Sugar Mill in Cienfuegos Province that only 1,000 of the 7,000 caballerias of sugarcane scheduled for planting nationwide between January and April have been planted to date.

Radio Rebelde at 1000 GMT on 31 January reports that AIDS patients at the sanatorium in the city of Cienfuegos will be trained to make articles of leather and fabric. "This activity joins the efforts by the Ministry of Public Health and other Cienfuegos Province institutions and organizations to incorporate these patients into a socially useful life and contribute to their personal fulfilment. The AIDS patients will, through this work, cooperate in making the sanatorium self-financing."

Radio Rebelde at 1000 GMT on 1 Februrary reports that Ernesto Melendez, minister president of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation, upon opening the fifth meeting of the regional committee for the development of subcontracting in Latin America, said that in the past three years, Cuba's trade with the region rose from 7 to 30 percent.

Radio Progreso at 1200 GMT on 1 February reports the following:

Dominica Coconut Production has donated five tons of laundry and toilet soaps to Cuba. The firm's representative called the donation "another gesture of solidarity with the Cuban people and government, which are struggling to get through the complex moment of the special period and repercussions from the weather."

A new France-Cuba flight has been inaugurated. The first joint flight by the companies (OM) and Cubana de Aviacion took place on 31 January. (Michel Taillant), the French airline's marketing director, explains that an increase in the number of flights between France and Cuba over the past few months led the two companies to schedule joint flights to supplement the regular flights of each. He adds, "This is probably a prelude to additional regular flights....This new airline, with a weekly Havana-Paris-Havana flight, will develop and expand French-Cuban tourism relations...." Flights will leave Havana for Paris on Sunday and return on Monday.

Pinar del Rio Province expects to harvest over 0.5 million quintals of tomatoes from the 150 caballerias that have been planted. Eighty percent of these tomatoes will be earmarked for consumption in Havana and Pinar del Rio, the rest for industry and for seeds. Workers from Pinar del Rio and from the Revolutionary Armed Forces "35th Anniversary of the Triumph of the Revolution" group are responsible for harvesting these tomatoes.

A report from Camaguey says Cuba has begun producing hog cholera vaccine with which to vaccinate all the nation's livestock. Camaguey Province is a priority, under the existing program.

Inter-Caribbean Affairs

Commission Makes Recommendations on Administrative Chaos

BR0102144994 Rotterdam ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD in Dutch 1 Feb 94 p 1

[Article by Pieter Den Hollander: "Assessment Condemns Person in Charge of St. Martin"]

[Text] Philipsburg—The person in charge of St. Martin, R. Voges, is unsuitable for his task of combatting the administrative chaos on the Netherlands Antillean island. His checks on the government apparatus, which

has become derailed, are a failure. Also he has not proved able to play the pioneering role which could lead the St. Martin Government to a healthy future.

This was the conclusion of the Joubert commission, one year after Justice and Antillean Affairs Minister Hirsch Ballin put the island under legal restraint when he introduced his Higher Supervision regime. Voges reacted furiously to the recommendations, which could cost him his job because Hirsch Ballin has in the meantime let it be known that he wanted to adopt Joubert's proposals.

"I completely reject this attack on my person," Voges said. "I have not failed, but I have been abandoned by the civil service apparatus in St. Martin at every stage. I was given completely insufficient support in my attempts to restore order."

Hirsch Ballin also received some indirect criticism: His controversial policies for fighting the considerable financial disorder, administrative chaos and faulty checks on government policies have not achieved the desired results one year after they were started, the advisory committee under the leadership of E.L. Joubert noted. Joubert is rector-magnificus of the University of the Netherlands Antilles.

Joubert suggested a number of far-reaching measures, the most important of which was to put St. Martin under a new period of legal restraint of at least two years using a general Measure of Central Government Administration.

Last summer Hirsch Ballin announced his Higher Supervision regime, which included strict financial curbs on the island (to be carried out by Voges, the person in charge who has now been challenged). These policies had produced only meagre results, according to Joubert. The worst evils had been removed, but as yet little improvement could be seen, the advisory committee said.

Joubert and his camp now want to intervene in three ways: The civil service should be drastically reorganized and strengthened under the leadership of an interim manager with exclusive powers, who will be appointed for a period of two years to succeed Voges.

St. Martin's Island Council should also be forced to set policy plans within one year in the fields of the economy, welfare, traffic, tourism, town and country planning, environmental management and public health.

The Island Council, if necessary under pressure from the Netherlands Government, should also pass provisions to increase government income (there is still a budget deficit of many tens of millions of guilders), improve financial management and guarantee effective and democratic decision making procedures.

The Island Council is accused of taking a wide range of decisions and approving expenditure, despite Hirsch Ballin's Higher Supervision regime, without providing any adequate justification of these decisions.

In a reaction to the report, Hirsch Ballin spoke of "proper recommendations" which he "would adopt in general lines." In the near future he will present them to the central government cabinet and parliament and hopes to be able to take decisions on 18 February under the slogan "Now Let's Get To Work."

Regional Economy Suffered Despite Global Reversal

FL0202024394 Bridgetown CANA in English 2144 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Report by Richard Cox]

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, 1 Feb, CANA—Although the global recession appears to be ending, Caribbean economies did not perform satisfactorily last year mainly because the region's major countries had a less than spectacular performance. This assessment came Tuesday from president of the Barbados-based Caribbean Development Bank [CDB], Sir Neville Nicholls, who said the impact of the minimal progress of the larger economies will be felt by the whole region.

Sir Neville said: "With regard to the actual economic outturn in the 17 borrowing member countries, the Gross Domestic Product of seven of these was higher than in 1992. In five others, there was positive growth of the GDP, although less than in 1992 and mainly marginally so. Three countries registered no change from the previous year; and in the last two, there was no growth, only declines in 1993 GDP." The CDB president suggested that a return to buoyancy by the main economies would have considerable meaning to the region as their markets were critical to the restoration of some prosperity to intra-regional trade.

Trinidad and Tobago retreated from very marginal growth in 1992 to a negative position in 1993 with a - 1-percent growth rate. The Bahamas stagnated at the 1992 level which was itself half a percentage point below the level attained in 1991. Jamaica recorded a 1.5-percent growth which, while better than the 1.2-percent in 1992, was still extremely low; and Barbados, after three years of significant decline, turned itself around with just a 1-percent growth.

Sir Neville revealed: "The information available so far shows the year's top performers to have been Anguilla with 7.5-percent growth; Guyana, between 7 and 8 percent; Cayman Islands, 4 percent; St. Kitts and Nevis, 4 percent; Belize, 3.9 percent, which is a substantial drop from the 7.4-percent of 1992, and the British Virgin Islands, 3.5 percent." The CDB president offered a number of reasons for the less than stellar performance of the Borrowing Member Countries (BMC's), which did little to offer any relief for the 200,000 thousand unemployed in the region.

He said: "With the exception of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, the others are fairly strong tourist-oriented economies. And last year, the region, insofar as tourism is concerned, continued to suffer from the slow recovery

from the recession in North America." In addition, many of the European countries, because of the depreciation of their currencies in relation to the United States dollar, and their own problems with the global recession, did not provide the Caribbean with many visitors.

As well, Sir Neville explained that "some of the countries in the region, particularly Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, are suffering from what can best be termed as foreign-debt overhang." A substantial proportion of their financial resources, especially with their earnings of foreign currency, continues to be spent on servicing foreign indebtedness. Another problem for these countries is that manufacturing entities are beginning to feel the effects of trade liberalisation. This in turn has resulted in reduced output and increased unemployment.

"This is in many respects an inevitable process that is taking place. The trend towards liberalisation of trade is a worldwide one and our countries, this region, is finding it increasingly difficult to protect their industries, particularly manufacturing industries, from competition from outside," Sir Neville told reporters at a news conference. The overall position with most of the major economies of the Caribbean is a relative shortage of foreign exchange. "Once you have that situation," Sir neville said, "governments find it virtually impossible to stimulate the economy because of the shortage of foreign exchange."

An analysis of the main performing sectors of the region's economy offers some hope contingent upon a resumption of sustained growth in the global economy, and on restructuring of individual economies to enable them to respond competitively to the new situation they face. In tourism, for example, figures show that the number of stopover arrivals and cruiseship visitors in the tourism- oriented BMC's increased in 1993. Sir Neville explained that "as would be expected, consequent upon the recovery in North America, tourism growth was strongest in those economies which traditionally get the overwhelming majority of their tourists from North America." As far as the banana industry was concerned in 1993, a number of factors adversely affected it. Principal among these was the exchange rate of sterling which depreciated, giving producers less in domestic currency for every pound sterling earned.

The bank president said: "Moreover, uncertainty about the future deepened as a result of significant changes in the arrangements for marketing Caribbean bananas in the European Union." Belize and Jamaica had offsetting effects of the lower prices by expanding output through production efficiencies. Although like Jamaica, Belize experienced a fall in unit earnings, it nonetheless was able to increase total earnings. For St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines, there were substantial declines in both production volumes and export earnings.

Sugar production dipped by about 3 per cent from 732,000 tonnes produced in 1992, with St. Kitts and Nevis alone recording an increase in production by about 4 percent, while Barbados suffered a falloff of approximately 10 percent, continuing the slide in the industry for this island over the past few years. Jamaica's production was 7,000 tonnes less than in 1992. As far as Guyana was concerned, production fell slightly compared with previous years, but was still 50 percent above the 1991 level. Belize also recorded a drop in sugar production, but this was deliberate since a greater percentage of its increased output in sugarcane was used for the production of molasses. And in Trinidad and Tobago, sugar production was estimated at 4 percent less, although there were quite remarkable increases in other areas of export agriculture, such as cocoa and citrus.

With regard to bauxite production, figures up to the end of September suggest that the decline was about 1.2 percent. Guyana recorded a slight increase, but this was offset by the decline in Jamaica, which is the bigger producer. The industry's prospects continued to be affected by weak international markets although the CDB approved a U.S.16.5 million dollar loan for the industry in Jamaica. There were also disappointing performances in the region's petroleum industry. The decline continued in Trinidad and Tobago during 1993 with output falling by about 8 percent. In Barbados as well, there was a decline of 4 percent to nearly 460,000 barrels.

Antigua and Barbuda

Opposition Denies Claims of Inciting Election Violence

FL0102222994 Bridgetown CANA in English 1646 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] St. John's, Antigua, 1 Feb, CANA—Political leader of Antigua and Barbuda's main opposition United Progressive Party (UPP), Baldwin Spencer, has rejected claims that his party is seeking to create a confrontation with its opponents and incite violence ahead of general elections.

The ruling Antigua Labour Party, campaigning for elections constitutionally due by March, has accused a UPP candidate and his supporters of disrupting an ALP public meeting. The party also accused UPP supporters of blocking the path of ALP supporters last Sunday in the St. John's rural West constituency (represented by Spencer). But Spencer charged that the ruling party, feeling the weight of the opposition, was "clearly looking for sympathy."

"They realise that their power in this country is eroding and they are trying to create a situation where they would want to put the UPP in bad light," he added.

The UPP leader said the ALP's allegations were "clearly not true."

"There was no attempt on the part of a UPP candidate to disrupt any meeting. There was no attempt... to block the

motorcade of the ALP that was going through my constituency," he said. "What I believed frightened the ALP and their entourage was the outpouring of support by the people of my candidacy in that constituency and the total rejection of the ALP," Spencer added.

The UPP leader said his party would "not allow the ALP to use fear and intimidation to derail us. We are fighting this campaign openly without fear. We are taking the issues to the population. We are campaigning aggressively. We make no bones about that. We do not have the media, so we have to reach there to the public by other means," Spencer said.

The Bahamas

Opposition Files No-Confidence Motion Against Ingraham

FL0102222894 Bridgetown CANA in English 1619 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Nassau, Bahamas, 1 Feb, CANA—Opposition leader Sir Lynden Pindling and his Progressive Liberal Party [PLP] Monday night tabled a motion of no confidence against Prime Minister Hubert Ingraham, over the recent resignation of Justice Ira Rowe from the Bahamas Court of Appeals.

He also tabled a resolution condemning the justice minister and the attorney general. Pindling claimed that new evidence had surfaced in the abrupt resignation of the Jamaican judge. Additional information, he claimed, has convinced the opposition that the 17-month-old government, through Justice Minister Janet Bostwick, interfered with the judicial process.

Pindling, former prime minister of 25 years, also claimed that Attorney General Orville Turnquest presented a misleading position in a television interview, and that Ingraham misled parliament in a communication on the matter.

Ingraham branded Pindling's allegation an "outright lie." He said he had no problem with such a debate and offered to change the House of Assembly's agenda on Wednesday and Thursday to accommodate the PLP.

"It is dead wrong for Sir Lynden Pindling to seek to mislead the Bahamian public and bring into contempt the judicial system," Ingraham said. The government, he continued, was completely satisfied that it acted in the best interest of the people and consistent with its oath of office to uphold the laws of The Bahamas.

Rowe resigned in December after the Ministry of Justice, through the registrar of the supreme court, told him that it was not prepared to facilitate his presence in Nassau to hear an appeal challenging the lawfulness of a commission of inquiry appointed to investigate allegations of misuse of public funds under the former Pindlng regime. The appeal was lodged by Maurice Glinton, lawyer for Phillip Herman Bethel. The inquiry was told that Bethel indirectly received a substantial amount of maoney that had been paid by Boeing of Canada as commission on the sale of Dehavilland aircraft to the state-owned Bahamasair. Bethel is the son of Philip Bethel, a former Bahamasair chairman and PLP minister. During the recent hearing, Justice Vincent Melville, chairman of The Bahamas Court of Appeals, stated that he was telephoned by Justice Rowe last December 4. Justice Rowe informed the president that he had an application for Glinton.

Justice Melville said he informed Justice Rowe not to deal with the matter as there was someone in The Bahamas who could deal with it. Glinton had flown to Jamaica to get Justice Rowe to entertain his application. Ingraham said that the chief justice of The Bahamas has always dealt with applications of appeal since the court of appeal was established in The Bahamas 28 years ago.

Ingraham said that his government was sworn to uphold the laws of The Bahamas and not to allow anyone "under any cloak" to subvert the laws of the country.

Barbados

Diplomatic Relations Established With South Africa

FL0202021694 Bridgetown CANA in English 2209 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, 1 Feb, CANA—Barbados and South Africa have established diplomatic relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here said Tuesday. The act was formalised Tuesday through an exchange of notes between representatives of the two countries in the U.S. capital, Washington.

On January 4, Barbados Foreign Minister Brandford Taitt and South African Foreign Minister R.F. Botha had exchanged letters indicating their intention to establish formal relations.

For over 30 years, Barbados had maintained a firm distance from South Africa because of apartheid. The thaw in relations occurred after South Africa started dismantling the system of racial segregation. This process will lead in April to the country's first all-race elections, expected to be won by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC).

Haiti

Aristide Advocates Dessalinian Methods Against Military

FL0102230894 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1800 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Exiled Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide challenged his U.S. counterpart by expressing his preference for the Dessalinian [from Dessalines, Haitian freedom fighter, credited with winning independence for

Haiti] methods. In a statement last week during his Canadian tour, Aristide, elected on 16 December 1990, reiterated what his recommendation of the previous month: Apply 'Operation Iron Cuts Iron' and opt for Dessalinian methods to dislodge the military from command.

President Clinton and his colleagues keenly disapproved of these statements, believing that the crisis should not be resolved through violence. President Aristide responded that so far, diplomacy has not yielded the expected results and it is now time to forego the Toussaint Louverture [former Haitian general known as the father of Haitian independence] methods, and adopt those used by Dessalines.

CONACOM Favors Conference Following Aristide Return

FL0102231894 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in French 1500 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] A national conference held without the participation of all sectors risks being just one more conference, according to the National Congress of Democratic Movements, CONACOM.

In a press release published 31 January, CONACOM called for the holding of a true national conference and proposed a schedule, including five steps, for the holding of this conference.

CONACOM says that such a conference must be preceded by:

A. The formation of a political coalition among the political groups that agree to work jointly for a way out of the crisis;

B. The designation by President Aristide of a new prime minister;

C. The formation of a government of national concord;

D. The holding of a sociopolitical rally; and

E. The holding of a national conference following Aristide's return to Haiti.

CONACOM rejects an arrangement precipitated in form and time [as heard] and invites all the country's sons to be aware of the seriousness of the crisis.

DeRonceray Warns Against National Conference 'Industry'

FL0202002994 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] The various national conference projects are not well regarded by some political parties. Hubert De Ronceray is still in favor of the application of Article 149 of the Constitution to solve the political crisis. The leader of MDN [Mobilization for National Development] warns against what he calls the newborn national conference industry. Professor De Ronceray who reviewed news highlights for the month of January, stopped on three facts:

First, the congress at the national theater. Second, the decision of Haitian employers to shut down commerce and industry from 28 January to 9 February. Third, the new industry of national conferences.

Hubert De Ronceray expressed his concern that certain initiatives have the effect of surgery that immediately kills the patient instead of saving him. While condemning the embargo which, according to MDN, has wrecked the economic and social institutions and is forcing 5 million people to despair or revolt, Hubert De Ronceray has urged the country's powerful forces to remain vigilant around Article 149 of the 1987 Constitution and avoid the false path born of confusion and despair.

Sen. Dupiton Said Linked to Izmery Assassination

FL0102180194 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in French 1430 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Monitored in progress]

[Text] ...December 1993 that the assassination of Antoine Izmery [Haitian businessman and Aristide supporter killed on 11 September 1993] was allegedly worked out meticulously at the home of former Senate President Thomas Eddy Dupiton, an out-and-out [Aristide] adversary close to Colonel Joseph Michel Francois.

According to the weekly [JEUNE AFRIQUE], Senator Dupiton allegedly accommodated the killers the day before the crime.

Ebrane Cadet, first secretary of the legitimate office of the Senate of the Republic, says in a letter to Colin Granderson, head of the international civilian mission, that he is alarmed about a document prepared by a special UN unit according to which Sen. Dupiton allegedly prepared the assassination of Antoine Izmery. Cadet asks Granderson for an explanation regarding this document.

Sansaricque on Charges of Dupiton as Izmery Assassin

FL0202013094 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Part of the Senate of the Republic does not favor the return of the civilian mission to Haiti. Senator Bernard Sansaricque acts as spokesman for this faction of the Senate, which is composed of legislators from the Alliance for Parliamentary Cohesion and those elected during the contested 18 January elections. Bernard Sansaricque also supports the formation of a new office in the Senate to expedite a solution to the crisis, considering that the current office has thus far worked to block the institutions:

[Begin recording in Creole] [Sansaricque] Between 10 August and the present, Firmin Jean-Louis held two sessions in the Senate. He cannot blame that on the 18 January senators. They all respected the New York pact until 11 January. So he cannot blame anyone but himself. I think he was a senator with a well-defined mission, the mission of obstructing the country, blocking the Senate of the Republic, because one cannot be a president of the Senate—in addition to his regular salary, he is earning an additional $1,500 a month. He just obstructs progress. He travels to see Aristide abroad while the country is collapsing.

It is therefore a situation that must be solved quickly in the Senate of the Republic. There is an ad hoc office, led by Sen. Ebrane, working right now to find a solution to unite the Senate and solve the problem that the country is facing.

[Reporter Renois] Bernard Sansaricque, when you say unite the Senate, do you mean to unite it with the legislators who were elected during the 18 January elections, which are still being contested?

[Sansaricque] They are contested. However, even the UN and the OAS recognized them, since they asked them: Will the legislators elected on 18 January please remain outside. Those legislators remained outside the crisis until the New York pact was no longer valid for them, at which time they returned to parliament. They kept their word.

[Renois] Does the New York pact officially exist today? Are we still under the New York pact in parliament?

[Sansaricque] Certainly some senators will tell you that the New York pact exists. If you ask me, the New York Pact never existed and still does not exist.

[Renois] Another aspect in the Senate question: I read in the December issue of JEUNE AFRIQUE, an African magazine, that some senators, namely Thomas Eddy Dupiton, was involved in the assassination of Antoine Izmery. Has the Senate considered this case?

[Sansaricque] Of course we are studying this file. I just brought the letter that we wrote to Colin Granderson to Radio Metropole to let it be known that there really is a UN/OAS file on the Izmery case which involves Sen. Dupiton. The Senate will want to have it for necessary purposes. If there is a file, they must present it. A magazine, JEUNE AFRIQUE, or any other magazine cannot just accuse senators...

[Renois] Did JEUNE AFRIQUE quote the UN report on that matter?

[Sansaricque] They spoke of the UN report which they say was given to the U.S. intelligence service. For such a serious matter, the Senate of the Republic should study this file. The UN and the OAS should therefore give it to us for our own use.

[Renois] Last question, Sen. Bernard Sansaricque: There is a crisis. How and when do you, as a senator of the Republic, see this crisis being solved?

[Sansaricque] I see that the crisis can be solved as soon as the Senate has a serious office. The senator named Firmin Jean-Louis, who was appointed by Caputo and applauded by some senators, and who had the defined mission of blocking the Senate of the Republic, blocking the country as a whole and making the people suffer as they are now suffering, must be stopped. We must have a decent office, a working office that respects the mandate granted to us. [end recording]

Organization Claims U.S. Ambassador Fosters Communism

FL0102174394 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1145 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] An unknown organization has reacted following the U.S. decision to cancel the visas of Haitian Army officers. The organization, the Haitian-American League, has directly addressed Ambassador William L. Swing.

The members of this league accuse the American diplomat of wanting to implement communism in Haiti.

Adherence to Strike Partial on 31 Jan

FL0102182094 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1130 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] On 31 January, downtown Port-au-Prince's big stores widely adhered to the call for a 12-day strike issued by more than a dozen employers associations to demand that the embargo be lifted. The stores selling luxury goods, located mainly in the area between Bonne Foi and Pavee Streets, adhered to the strike, whereas most of the stores specializing in the sale of electronic parts, fabrics, and shoes conducted business as usual. For the informal businesses and open-air marketplaces too, it was business as usual; the grocery stores and banks, which adhered to the spirit of the movement, respected the new work schedule that had been set.

One of the nation's principal employers associations, the Haitian Manufacturers Association, ADIH, publicly dissociated itself from the Haitian Chamber of Commerce and Industry's movement, explaining that the movement did not have precise objectives—or alternatives in case of failure.

In Les Cayes, Haiti's third biggest city, stores conducted business as usual. A Les Cayes businessman told the HAITI PRESS AGENCY that he was not at all involved in the events that led to the imposition of the strike.

Increasing Adherence Noted

FL0102185594 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1145 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] A press release from the crisis committee and the presidents of the employers associations informs members and the general public that exchanges with national and international organizations, labor unions, national institutions, and the various sectors representative of the civilian society are increasing.

The population is increasingly adhering to the objectives expressed in the 25 January resolution, says the press release. It states, and I quote, let us continue to reinforce our solidarity in order to save Haiti, unquote. It should be pointed out that the members of the employer sector are reportedly to meet with the members of the union sector on 1 February at the Haitian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

UN Spokesman Justifies Fuel Stockpile

FL0102193894 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1130 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Over 8,000 gallons of fuel are currently stored at the UN/OAS mission garage in Delmas. When interviewed by Signal FM on 31 January, Eric Falt, the UN spokesman in Haiti, said this fuel is not humanitarian fuel but rather the mission's reserve.

Asked where this fuel comes from and where it is stored, Falt said the administrative and garage service controls the storage of such products. He explained that the UN mission does not have any particular facility to be supplied with fuel. Falt (?denied) any connection between this operation and the arrival in Port-au-Prince last week of approximately 30 members of the UN mission. This is not a redeployment of the mission in Haiti, he stated.

Camacho: Conditions for Talks With Rebels Exist

PA0102150994 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0435 GMT 1 Feb 94

[From the "24 Hours" newscast]

[Text] Manuel Camacho Solis, commissioner for peace and reconciliation in Chiapas, met today with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari in Los Pinos. Afterward, he met with senators and deputies from the Plural Group [grupo plural) in his office to follow-up on events in Chiapas. The congressional Standing Committee created this group, and it comprises 10 legislators representing the six registered political parties. They talked about the need to find a negotiated and peaceful solution to the Chiapas conflict above any partisan stand.

Camacho said the conditions for dialogue exist, and he highlighted three points that will be discussed with the armed groups. These points are:

1. Economic demands relating to the material conditions of the Chiapas Indians.

2. Social demands relating to racism, neglect, poverty, disrespect, expulsions, and attacks on culture and traditions.

3. Political demands relating to the Chiapas Indians' lack of legal room for true participation. Camacho will make a public announcement tomorrow.

Peace Commissioner Camacho Announces New 'Buffer Zones'

PA0102230094 Paris AFP in Spanish 2147 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] San Cristobal de Las Casas, Mexico, 1 Feb (AFP)—Peace Commissioner Manuel Camacho announced in this city on Tuesday the creation of two "buffer zones" on Wednesday in the towns of San Miguel and Guadalupe Tepeyac, Chiapas State to "create detente areas" following the armed conflict.

Camacho read a communique to the media which stated that free access will be allowed to two "buffer zones" in Ocosingo and Las Margaritas "as long as weapons are not carried."

San Miguel and Guadalupe Tepeyac are villages located far from San Cristobal and to which the Army has never had access during the conflict because of local guerrilla resistance.

Camacho also said that armed members of the Zapatist National Liberation Army (EZLN), which began a military uprising in southern Mexico on 1 January, should not be present in the area, either.

Camacho, who announced a series of actions in support of the "life and dignity" of the people in Chiapas, did not talk about the possibility of a dialogue with the rebels, which remains at a standstill.

The communique read by Camacho and addressed to the EZLN General Command said "these will be the first two buffer zones" to be established in the state, and he added that "the Mexican Army from its positions will offer facilities for the movement of residents, supplies, and medicines to each one of these villages."

"The Mexican Army has already left all areas where it had a presence in Chiapas State," said Camacho in his message to the guerrillas.

He said that "traffic will be allowed through the access routes" to the buffer zone towns "as long as no weapons are carried." He added that the perimeters proposed for these places "must be respected."

"In these areas there must be no armed presence of the EZLN," stated the commissioner, and added that the Mexican Red Cross will provide in both towns "humanitarian health services and will assist with supplies."

Camacho added that "everyone will receive health care," but "only the civilian population" will receive supplies.

Camacho said the services provided at the two places will consist of health brigades to fight malaria and cholera, to provide universal vaccinations and first aid, and to support the transportation of patients to hospitals in Chiapas State or in other places in the country in the cases that may so require.

Regarding the supplies, the commissioner announced that warehouse and distribution centers for supplying the civilian population will be "gradually" installed and that humanitarian organizations may support the effort in coordination with the Red Cross. He added that the effort "will have full public and private support."

"With these actions, we all support the life and dignity of individuals over all forceful actions and military presence," the commissioner stressed.

EZLN Announces 'Imminent' Dialogue, Invites Media To Attend

PA0202022594 Paris AFP in Spanish 0050 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Mexico City, 1 Feb (AFP)—The EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army] rebels announced today an "imminent" dialogue with the Mexican Government.

The communique, which was issued from "the mountains of the Mexican southeast," is addressed to the national and international media and is signed by guerrilla subcommander Marcos.

The document lists a number of local and foreign media that the EZLN will accredit to cover the negotiations to solve the armed conflict in Chiapas State that began on 1 January.

"The initiation of a dialogue for peace between the EZLN and the federal government at a yet to be determined place and date is imminent," states the document, which adds that the Indian Revolutionary Clandestine

Committee-General Command (CCRI-CG) [Comite Clandestino Revolucionario Indigena-Comandancia General] has already reached "basic agreements" with Peace Commissioner Manuel Camacho.

It added that "some details are yet to be settled and some previous agreements are yet to be fulfilled, but the basic points have already been defined."

The EZLN asserted that "there is an open-door policy" toward the local and foreign media which, according to the rebels, "carry out their task objectively without taking sides."

In this sense the communique stated that "all the written press" shall be allowed, as far as the EZLN is concerned, "to cover the dialogue for peace and reconciliation," but in the case of televised media, the guerrillas "will veto the participation of only the national private television stations Televisa and Television Azteca."

According to the rebels' report, Televisa "does not need to seek news because they invent it at their will and convenience," while the reporters of Television Azteca "have shown a lack of professionalism by offering money to our fighters" to make statements.

The communique added that several media "have flatly refused to report with objectivity" and have "particularly attacked our cause and that of the Chiapas Indian people."

The EZLN also publicized a "special invitation" to nine newspapers and four television stations, both Mexican and foreign, three Mexican magazines, five Mexican radio stations, and five international news agencies—including AFP—to cover the government-guerrilla dialogue.

The report from the Zapatists stated that accreditation of the press will be carried out through San Cristobal de Las Casas Bishop Samuel Ruiz, the national commissioner for intermediation (appointed by the EZLN).

Camacho Acknowledges EZLN Communique

PA0202034694 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0258 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpts] San Cristobal de Las Casas, 1 Feb (NOTIMEX)—Manuel Camacho Solis, commissioner for peace in Chiapas, today described as "an important step" toward peace a recent communique issued by the armed group [Zapatist National Liberation Army, EZLN] operating in Chiapas. The EZLN communique states that a direct dialogue is "imminent."

The message is "an important step toward meeting and advancing the process for peace and reconciliation in Chiapas State," Camacho Solis said in a communique released to the media in San Cristobal, 1,200 km southeast of Mexico City. [passage omitted]

Camacho Solis in his second communique issued on 1 February, termed as an additional advancement the fact that the group is willing to broaden media coverage of the possible direct dialogue.

The armed group also agreed today to Camacho Solis' proposal for national and foreign journalists to cover the eventual negotiations, but the group excluded the private Mexican television networks Televisa and Television Azteca.

Camacho Solis responded: "My stance is not to exclude anyone and to make accreditation and access to the talks subject only to the appropriate security measures."

The commissioner deemed "appropriate the EZLN's suggestion for the registration of the media and the procedures for coverage to be carried out through the group's mediator, Bishop Samuel Ruiz Garcia."

Camacho Solis, in his first communique today read this morning in San Cristobal de Las Casas, proposed to the armed group the creation of two "buffer zones" without an armed presence to ease the situation and help the civilian population.

Camacho Solis also announced that the Mexican Army has withdrawn from the towns in the conflict area.

French Minister Concurs with Goverment Views on Chiapas

BR0102150194 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Feb 94 p 4

[Report by correspondent "B. de la G." in Mexico: "Alain Juppe Sought To Downplay Magnitude of Chiapas Rebellion During Official Visit in Mexico"]

[Text] During an official visit to Mexico from 26 to 29 January, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe judged that the natives' rebellion in the southern state of Chiapas "was not liable to threaten the country's political stability" and had no bearing whatsoever on "the long tradition of friendship" between Paris and Mexico. He also declared himself satisfied after his Thursday meeting with the head of state and praised "President Carlos Salinas' determination to resolve the crisis through dialogue rather than force."

Fully accepting the official line of the Mexican authorities, which is challenged by a majority of the country's political class, Juppe said that the violent incidents which have racked the Chiapas state since 1 January were "outbursts which affect four towns" on the Guatemala border. "I may be wrong in my analysis," he said, "but I do not think we should blow out of proportion (a local issue) that does not affect the whole country."

Meanwhile, the Mexican Army seems to be taking more seriously risks of the conflict spreading to the Federation's other states, since it has asked several foreign governments, including France, to help it fight terrorism after several bombs exploded in a number of cities, including the capital. According to a source directly involved in the talks, Mexico's Defense Ministry wishes

to obtain training support for personnel specializing in the neutralization of explosive devices.

France, which—apart from a few Ecureuil marine patrol helicopters supplied last year to the Navy—has not sold any military equipment to Mexico since 1984 (Sagaie wheeled armored vehicles and Panhard light armored vehicles, currently in use in the Chiapas conflict), has yet to answer Mexico's request for help with mine clearance.

Insisting on Mexico's achievements with respect to inflation reduction (less than 10 percent in 1993 compared with 159 percent in 1987), deficit cutting, and renegotiation of the external debt—which should let the country become soon an "active member" of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), among others thanks to France's support—Mr. Juppe concluded that "economic recovery has not solved every social issue, but it remains essential in order 'to avoid'" explosions such as the Chiapas rebellion.

According to Juppe, the Chiapas conflict should affect neither foreign investments in Mexico (France is the fifth foreign investor in Mexico with nearly Fr9 billion and 228 firms, behind the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Japan) nor foreign trade, which is largely dominated by the United States (70 percent of Mexico's trade involves its northern neighbor, compared with a little over 2 percent for France).

Mr. Juppe judged that "French firms understand they could benefit" from the free trade agreement in force since 1 January between Mexico, the United States, and Canada, provided the three partners "do not pass legislation that discriminates against third-party countries." One of the topics he discussed with Mexican authorities—he met with Finance Minister Pedro Aspe—had to do with supporting French investment in sectors such as environmental protection (liquid waste reprocessing) and public transportation, especially with respect to equipment for a 10th subway line currently under construction.

El Salvador

Foreign Minister Condemns Death, Says U.S. Major Has Diplomatic Immunity

PA0102200594 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Report by Balmore Parada from the "YSU Radio News" newscast]

[Text] After having claimed there was no violation whatsoever of Salvadoran sovereignty in the case involving the death of a Salvadoran bodyguard—a death blamed on U.S. Embassy employee Major Mike Lopez—Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Salaverria today condemned the incident. Foreign Minister Salaverria read a six-point official communique which cited the Vienna Convention that guarantees complete immunity from judicial punishment, which in this case favors the U.S. officer.

According to the communique, Maj. Lopez is not subject to any sort of detention or arrest by Salvadoran authorities, and can be summoned to give testimony regarding this case. [sentence as heard] According to Salaverria, this same diplomatic immunity applies in similar cases involving diplomats in any country which has signed the Vienna Convention. Nevertheless, the foreign minister condemned the incident:

[Begin Salaverria recording] This incident is condemnable from every angle, and it is regrettable because it involves a person's life. Whether the life of a Salvadoran or a foreigner, all life is priceless, and no monetary compensation that may eventually be paid to the family can offset this loss. One must consider other family aspects, such as the effect this man's absence will have on his children, as well as how this will affect them for the rest of their lives. These are just some of the considerations. I, however, can assure you that no one can be happy about this incident, and the one who feels most ashamed is the U.S. Government. This is one problem it does not need, and I am sure that the U.S. Government will prosecute this gentleman under the full force of the law. [end recording]

From the very start, the Salvadoran Foreign Ministry has received the U.S. Embassy's assurances that Maj. Lopez will face a U.S. court martial. The foreign minister reported that Maj. Mike Lopez, a U.S. Embassy employee, on 21 January killed bodyguard Cresencio Diaz Alvarado in the Guadalupe neighborhood in Soyopango, on the outskirts of eastern San Salvador. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Salaverria reiterated that there has been no violation whatsoever of national sovereignty in the case of the death of this bodyguard.

Guatemala

De Leon Views Referendum Results, Future

PA0102152894 Guatemala City Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 0315 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Statement by Guatemalan President Ramiro de Leon Carpio on 31 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear Guatemalans: Yesterday the Guatemalan people took a very significant and unprecedented step in the nation's history by consolidating our democratic process. The results of the popular consultation prove that the Guatemalan people have left behind the sad pages of their history, especially the pages pertaining to confrontation, bloodshed, and corruption.

The indisputable yes-vote victory, with 377,044 yes-votes and 70,761 no votes, clearly proves the Guatemalan people support the moral revolution initiated by the president of the Republic, and thereby they are paving the way for a renewal phase through peaceful means, with respect for the legal and institutional framework and, in this case, the most powerful weapon democracy has: the citizens' vote.

Much has been said these past few hours about the abstention phenomenon. The truth is, as one of today's newspaper editorials states, the fact that a high percentage of citizens did not participate in the election does not mean abstentionism won. Although every citizen had the option of abstaining, the democratic process only considers the number of yes and no votes and in the country's 330 municipalities, the yes vote won. In other words, the yes vote is the option that won.

The issue is that the law and the result of the popular consultation must be respected because that is the very essence of the de jure state we hope to consolidate in Guatemala. With the approval of the constitutional reforms from yesterday's popular consultation, it is now up to the Congress of the Republic to fulfill its pledge to reform the Electoral and Political Parties Law and the Congressional Internal System Law as soon as possible so new deputies can be quickly elected with the participation of civic committees and other organizations. The entire country is awaiting the fulfillment of these reforms. At any rate, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal will schedule the election of new deputies very soon.

The results of the popular consultation will allow us to continue purging the branches of state. The yes vote has won, but there are no winners or losers. The winners are the Guatemalan people, who with their participation have proven that regardless of the misinformation generated by certain groups they know what they want: to live in peace and democracy.

The electoral event was conducted in a peaceful manner despite the terrorism and blackmail perpetrated on the eve of the consultation in an effort to surround the process with insecurity and instability. Consequently,

the democratic system has been saved and strengthened. This is the first time in Guatemalan history it is possible to reform the political Constitution without resorting to the traditional coup d'etat, which confirms we are paving the way for a better future. The results of the popular consultation mark the beginning of a truly democratic culture.

As we conclude this phase, I must emphasize that we are making a different scenario possible. A country seeking and working for peace must not foster confrontations, impunity, and corruption. Therefore, the popular consultation was the mechanism used to purge the branches of state. It took more time, but it adhered to the law and was peaceful, which is how things should be in a de jure state.

Now, the people and government must work together in a spirit of solidarity for our country. The time has come to leave behind our personal interests. Guatemala has lost many years because of its fragmented and confrontational positions. We must not lose the opportunity that is now available to us.

This is why as president, committed only and exclusively to the Guatemalan people, I call for national unity to work in solidarity for a single goal, to consolidate a national project. Political, economic, and social sectors should adopt national commitments that foster the right scenario for the country's governability. Elections are already a handsome page in our history. Now we must continue to move ahead. As president, I have the responsibility to keep the commitments established in the government agenda that allow for laying down the irreversible basis for a more modern economy and a society with equality. I know this is a challenge, but my mind is set to achieve it.

I want to tell you that I am proud of the demonstration we have given the world, because slowly but surely we are confirming that we prefer to solve our problems with words and not with violence. Proof of this was the responsible attitude of the public workers who, understanding the political moment we were living, ignored summonses to paralyze the public administration this past weekend. This shows we are maturing.

I firmly request the National Transportation Coordinating Board to put aside its differences and continue talks aimed at solving the stated problems. We cannot continue with this political agitation. We must resolve these differences at the dialogue table and spend our time working for Guatemala.

Our government starts the year with a tight-knit team, a strengthened team bent on reaching a single goal: to execute the government agenda. We cannot continue to ignore or pretend to ignore the tremendous social and cultural reality of our society. We have no ties to any political party or any other ambitions. That is why, I repeat, our only commitment is to the people of Guatemala. I am convinced that all the sacrifice and all the blood that has been shed during our country's history has not been in vain, because the seed of peace and democracy flourishes in the hearts of all Guatemalans.

Let us work so that Guatemala may at last achieve peace and grow free and strong for the sake of our children's happiness and that of future generations. Guatemalans, this is the moment for all of us together to say: Go ahead, Guatemala! Many thanks and good night.

Politician Comments

PA0102165794 Guatemala City Cadena de Emisoras Unidas in Spanish 1700 GMT 31 Jan 94

[From the "Guatemala Flash" newscast]

[Text] Rodolfo Rosales Garcia Salas, Revolutionary Civic Alliance leader, termed yesterday's referendum results a political earthquake. The yes vote won over the no vote by a minimal margin, which means that the Ramiro de Leon Carpio government, and especially the politicians, received one of their worst setbacks because most of the population did not vote.

The controversial politician said the president should abstain from making decisions to solve the country's crisis because it is obvious that the Guatemalan people have rejected the package of constitutional reforms that Congress approved. These constitutional reforms were also backed by presidential scheming, which translates as a deep rejection of the traditional political classes and the maneuvers of President Ramiro de Leon Carpio.

URNG Terms Referendum 'Government Failure'

PA0102170694 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1552 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Mexico City, 1 Feb (EFE)—The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) today termed the Guatemalan Government's referendum held on Sunday as a government failure.

The URNG General Command, based in Mexico City, said in a communique that the large abstentionism of 84 percent proves the lack of credibility and legitimacy "of the counterinsurgency model" implemented with the "self-coup" of former President Jorge Serrano Elias.

The unprecedented abstentionism in the country reflects the rejection of the constitutional reforms, which were faulty in origin. The reforms are the expression of deals reached between corrupt politicians and show the extent of a regime devoid of political support, the URNG communique states. "The government's attempt to present as a triumph the scant yes garnered at the polls constitutes one more imposition on the Guatemalan people," it states.

The result of the referendum to reform the Constitution and to purge the Congress does not resolve the crisis. On the contrary, it prolongs and heightens it, the URNG states. The URNG says that this situation will permit the sectors opposed to a political solution of the crisis and

which support armed conflict to harden their positions and seriously endanger efforts to build democracy in Guatemala.

"The constitutional and institutional reforms and socioeconomic transformations the country needs, that society demands and wants, can only be achieved by a government of unity and national salvation, which is the democratic expression of the country's majority," the URNG communique concluded.

Nicaragua

Further Reportage on Transportation Strike Situation

Safety, Security Guaranteed

PA0102192294 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Report by Ericka Ramirez from the "National" newscast]

[Excerpts] Government Minister Alfredo Mendieta pointed out that the National Police are capable of ensuring unrestrained traffic and will provide all necessary protection to every transportation sector worker who decides to continue providing service to the community.

Minister Mendieta added that the National Transportation Commission [CNT] must honor agreements signed between the government and the various transportation chambers and federations. Government Minister Alfredo Mendieta indicated that the National Police will work toward completely normalizing the capital city. As an example of regions where unrest persists, the government minister pointed toward Rubenia, Ciudad Sandino, and, as of today, the Metro Center sector where the interference of Tomas Borge, FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Force] National Board member, has been proven.

[Begin Mendieta recording] I believe that since it was Mr. Borge himself who pointed to the need for a demonstration, such as the one that took place today and which was supported by Sandinist groups, he should then also guarantee, just as I personally requested, that there will be no further protests such as those that have been occurring. Therefore, I believe that if he is willing to defend the demands of these groups, then he must also be willing to prevent these groups from overstepping boundaries established by the law. [end recording]

Mendieta confirmed having confiscated weapons from the transportation sector workers currently supporting the strike.

[Begin Mendieta recording] This morning we seized several weapons and arrested several people. We know they are also using some type of homemade mortar. The police have very specific information on this issue. We hope they do not attempt to use these weapons and that we can end this situation without further problems. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The government minister indicated that CNT spokesman Gustavo Aguiluz could face charges because of his constant calls to violence, thus threatening citizens' safety.

[Begin Mendieta recording] If necessary, he will have to answer for that decision to the courts. I also understand that some of the persons who were directly mentioned by Mr. Aguiluz are preparing to file lawsuits against him, forcing him to prove the charges he made. [end recording]

The National Police have coordinated security measures for the members of the federations and chambers who are still operating in order to guarantee their safety and security.

[Begin Mendieta recording] We are in a position to guarantee the free movement of their vehicles and the assurance that their offices will be secure. I would like to be absolutely clear in stating that we are going to act as forcefully as the law allows to prevent any attempts against these persons just because they decided to sign an agreement with the government. The government is not going to take any steps beyond these agreements; on the contrary, I repeat, the CNT must abide by these commitments. [end recording]

Public order will be diligently guarded by the state's security organizations.

Strike Enters 10th Day

PA0102182794 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1526 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Managua, 1 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—The Sandinist transportation sector, organized under the National Transportation Commission (CNT), today continued to block some of Managua's main streets and avenues, where incidents have caused damage, according to various sources.

The tension surrounding the indefinite transportation strike, which is in its 10th day, decreased at dawn today after strike leaders promised police not to cause disturbances during their demonstrations. The Sandinist transportation sector is insisting on its demands that the government "freeze" fuel prices, abolish the sector's taxes, and execute the plan to reorganize transportation in the nation.

Hundreds of buses and taxis are still parked at the four entrances to the traffic circle at the Metro Center on the southwestern periphery of the capital, blocking the normal flow of private vehicles. Some 200 meters from the traffic circle are Nicaragua's main police headquarters and the Metropolitan Cathedral. The concentration of buses and taxis in this area has forced the suspension

of bus services which, since last Sunday, had provided the public with almost five routes.

Gustavo Aguiluz, CNT spokesman, which called the strike on 24 January, today asserted that the CNT will continue trying to work out with the government the possibility of a dialogue to end the protest. Nevertheless, Aguiluz said the strike will continue if the government refuses to fulfill the agreements signed in September, which ended a nationwide transportation strike that had resulted in two deaths, dozens of casualties and arrests, and the loss of some $16 million.

Strike Ends

PA0202031994 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0227 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Managua, 1 Feb (ACAN EFE)—The Nicaraguan Government today announced it had reached an agreement with Sandinist transportation leaders to end the strike initiated nine days ago. The Sandinist transportation workers agreed tonight to end the national transportation strike "to contribute to the nation's stability." Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo said the workers' agreement came in exchange for the government's willingness to negotiate in the coming days the demands that prompted the strike.

The minister agreed to hold multilateral and bilateral meetings with the sector's businessmen to discuss the strikers' demands, which include freezing fuel prices and restructuring the transportation sector.

Lacayo, President Violeta Chamorro's son-in-law, and leaders of the National Transportation Commission (CNT-Sandinist), announced the end of the strike tonight during a news conference at the Presidency.

Panama

Endara Asks Cabinet To Resign; No Decision Yet on New Ministers

PA0102173294 Panama City TVN Television Network in Spanish 1602 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Message to the nation by Panamanian President Guillermo Endara from the Palace of the Herons in Panama City—live]

[Text] Good morning, everyone. After spending several days and weeks contemplating the one issue that interests you so very much—an issue you ask me about each and every day—last night, I came to a decision. That is when I wrote a letter addressed to all ministers of state. This letter was sent to all ministers early this morning—first by fax, and then followed by the original.

The letter says the following: I must begin by stating what I have said many times: The current cabinet members are not only exemplary officials, but I have also developed a close friendship with each of them. Nevertheless, circumstances of which you all are aware have prompted me to take this action, which I would have preferred to avoid.

After thinking about this issue, I have concluded that I must reorganize my cabinet. In other countries and for other countries, this is a frequent procedure. For me, however, this situation cannot be described in terms of my personal feelings. Therefore, I, as president of the Republic, ask that you resign from your post as minister of state, thereby enabling me to have the chance to appoint a cabinet which, under the circumstances, would better serve the interests of the Republic of Panama.

Because I am not naming a new cabinet at this time, I would be most grateful if you could remain in your post and attend to your duties, for which you will have my support.

I thank you in advance, and I reiterate my friendship.

Now, before taking your questions, I would like to answer two... [pauses] some of them. First, you probably are wondering when I will appoint the new cabinet. The answer is I do not have a deadline for appointing a new cabinet. This is an issue I will think about constantly over the next few days, and I will make an announcement to the media when I decide on the new cabinet.

The second question I am sure you will ask—indeed, I want to save you the trouble of asking it—is whether I already have some candidates to fill the posts. The answer is no; I do not have any names to give you officially.

This whole time I have been mulling over this issue. I have thought about some people, but I have not made a decision. At this point, I am unable to give you any names. I will announce all of the names when I select my new cabinet.

I will now be glad to take your questions, but first I must say that nearly all of the ministers have tendered their resignations. All of them are exemplary citizens who are my friends. I appreciate them very much. This is a situation that, as I said before, is normal in some countries. I never like making cabinet changes, as you are well aware.

[Unidentified moderator] We will now begin the question and answer period. We will begin with colleague Luis Alberto Henriquez of RPC Radio.

[Henriquez] Good morning, Mr. President. First, I would like to ask this: What is the objective of your new cabinet? Will the new ministers be members of your party of [word indistinct]?

[Endara] You are all aware of the reason. It is a situation we have been experiencing for a number of days. You have all awaited anxiously for me to make a decision.

I told all of you that at the opportune time... [pauses] I first told you I was mulling over the matter. Then I told you that at an appropriate time I would inform all of you together, as I am doing now. The reasons are obvious. These are the changes that have taken place within the political scene. I would have preferred that these situations did not affect my government, but as in any government or any democratic government in the world, political changes have repercussions within the government.

As to whether all of the cabinet members will be members of my party, I reiterate that I have not made a decision on the names of the people I will pick for my cabinet. In principle, it is not my intention that all cabinet members belong to my party. My intention is that independent individuals and those from some other parties should participate. This is my intention, but I have not made the final decision.

MUN Urges Unity Among New Parties

PA0102212694 Panama City Telemetro Television Network in Spanish 1730 GMT 27 Jan 94

[From the "Telemetro Reports" newscast]

[Text] The entire National Unity Mission [MUN] leadership organized a news conference this morning to call on political parties such as Papa Egoro and Solidarity, as well as civic organizations and other business groups, to support an agreement that would lead to urgently needed changes. In addition, MUN called for an alliance that would continue not only up to the elections, but all through the 1994-1999 period. It also called for the government to adopt programs prepared jointly by the parties and aimed at developing the country.

[Begin MUN presidential candidate David Guerra recording] [words indistinct] has decided to make an urgent and direct call to all those new political parties that decided to organize with the intention of bringing some type of hope to this country. We urge them to take on the historical commitment the country demands and to come forward with their respective programs to make up one single driving force, free of any politics, party interests, resources or power dealings, and guided by the socio-economic development this country—which is shouting for an opportunity—desperately needs.

MUN would also like to call on every group, including all those unions who have looked in vain for concrete answers to their just and unpostponable demands, the teachers union, the IRHE [Institute of Hydraulic Resources and Electrification] and INTEL [National Institute of Telecommunications] workers, transportation sector workers, doctors, students, nurses, and all other citizens groups to abandon all neutral and silent positions which, if they persist, will only bring more harm to this country. We urge these groups to make up their minds today to actively participate in an agreement that will determine this country's fate.

We would like to call on the country's economic forces to join this historic effort to save democracy and establish the foundations of an administration that will really understand the people's needs. This will ensure social stability, which is so needed if the country expects to accomplish the economic development it deserves.

MUN, as one of the new parties hinted, opens its doors to that national agreement the country desperately needs. MUN is aware that it is a big risk for any political party to participate in the elections on its own. Although we are not apprehensive about participating on our own, MUN is responsible enough to acknowledge that every new party is obligated to provide the country with the new answers and alternatives it needs.

That is our communique and position at this time. [end recording]

Arnulfist Party Candidate Willing To Step Down for Possible Alliance

PA0202014294 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Report by Alvaro Alvarado from the "RPC Television News" newscast; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Mireya Moscoso de Gruber, presidential candidate [for the Arnulfist Party, PA], would be willing to decline her candidacy in favor of a great alliance of all civilist parties of the country. Mireya Moscoso de Gruber thus reiterated what she proposed weeks ago in David when she called for a great alliance against the Democratic Revolutionary Party.

[Moscoso de Gruber] "I don't think Panamanians want to return to the past. We must therefore call for this great alliance of all parties. Let's sit down and discuss what is best for Panama, not what is best for personal or economic interests."

Apparently the difficulty lies in the absence of identifying a person to unify all these forces.

[Moscoso de Gruber] "Let's all sit down and look for this person, just as we did in 1989.

[Alvarado] "Even if it is not you?

[Moscoso de Gruber] "Even if it is not me."

Moscoso de Gruber said it is time to leave behind the arguments and political ambitions that have so harmed democracy. If we must hold a new convention, we are willing to hold it, added the leader.

[Moscoso de Gruber] "There are seven candidates for the presidency of the Republic, and we think there should be only two."

Mrs. Mireya Moscoso de Gruber made these statements during a meeting of the parties that form the so-called Democratic Alliance, alliance representatives commented later.

[Alfredo Arias of the PA; identified by caption] "I think that when we talk about a great national alliance, it has to be based on the alliance's majority party.

[Alvarado] "What do you think of a possible unification of criteria?

[Roberto Aleman of the Liberal Party; identified by caption] "The truth is that I do not know. Right now I think it would be very difficult, but it could happen.

[Alvarado] "Would you support it?

[Aleman] "I don't know. I would have to propose it to the party's national executive committee.

[Joaquin Franco of the Authentic Liberal Party; identified by caption] "I see no such possibility at this time. Mrs. Gruber represents the Democratic Alliance. She made some statements this morning, which you have already heard. We are still awaiting responses to those statements."

Argentina

Misiones Province To Sign Cooperation Agreement With Cuba

PY0102222894 Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 30 Jan 94 p 8

[Text] Posadas—Governor Federico Ramon Puerta will depart today from the federal capital for Cuba, where on 1 February he will sign a cooperation, technical assistance, and compensated exchange agreement with the Caribbean country. Cuba has shown an interest in purchasing paper pulp, paper for manufacturing bags, and cartons manufactured by the Papel Misionero Enterprise, and mate leaf [ilex paraguayensis]; the island also might be interested in wooden prefabricated houses, several varieties of lumber, and soybean flour and oil.

Misiones, in turn, might send to that country people who need a very highly developed medical system, and Cuban professionals would advise the province's doctors.

The aspects of the agreement are being studied by Cuban officials and a Misiones Province delegation headed by provincial Health Minister Victor Hugo Martinez.

During his stay in Cuba, which will last one week, Puerta plans to meet President Fidel Castro.

Visit by Chilean Minister-Designate to UK Creates 'Concern'

PY0202023094 Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 1 Feb 94 p 10

[Text] The Defense Ministry and the Armed Forces leadership are watching with concern the extensive visit being made to England by Chilean Defense Minister-designate Edmundo Perez Yoma.

Sources close to Defense Minister Oscar Camilion and the top military commands told CLARIN there is "some surprise" over the official invitation made by the British Government to a minister who has not been installed yet.

When Eduardo Frei is inaugurated in Chile in March, Perez Yoma, who is one of the future president's right-hand men, will replace current Defense Minister Patricio Rojas. The sources said it is unusual for a minister-designate to be officially invited by London.

The sources also said that the extension of Perez Yoma's visit to London, which is a seven-day visit that ends on 2 February, "is somehow improper."

In contrast to such an extensive visit, it should be recalled that the future Chilean minister was in Argentina for only a brief time, a protocol visit.

Perez Yoma also held high-level meetings in London, including a meeting with British Secretary of State for Defense Malcolm Rifkind and top military officials.

The sources added that Perez Yoma was also in Parliament, visited military units, and gave a lecture in Canning House that was attended by the main economic groups linked to arms production.

The Defense Ministry sources took note of Perez Yoma's comments in public during his tour. Analysts close to Camilion detected that, in general, Perez Yoma gave "known points of view" on Chilean foreign policy and put emphasis on some economic aspects such as the Chilean desire to join NAFTA, the free trade agreement sponsored by the United States.

Such concern by the Defense Ministry and the Armed Forces over the Chilean minister-designate's visit reveals that the consequences of Chilean behavior during the 1982 Malvinas war and the differences over the border conflicts with Chile still prevail.

The sources indicated, however, that the latest meetings with Chilean Foreign Minister Patricio Rojas within the framework of the joint declaration signed by Presidents Carlos Menem and Patricio Aylwin in 1990 contributed to strengthening relations between the two countries in the military field.

The sources also linked Perez Yoma's long visit to England with the recent visit to the Malvinas by five Chilean congressmen.

On their way to the Malvinas, the Chilean congressmen stopped in the Lago del Desierto region, which is under international arbitration as a result of a border conflict between Argentina and Chile.

Bolivia

Ω * Bolivia: Economic Briefs

94P20317A

[Editorial Report]

COCHABAMBA ENERGY PRODUCTION—The Bolivian Government Oil Deposits, YPFB, inaugurated the first gas reinjection plant in Cochabamba's Carrasco oilfield. The $2.5-million plant will prevent the burning of 20 million cubic feet per day, thus saving $22,000 daily. In addition, the installation of a thermoelectric plant in Carrasco by February or March will make Cochabamba the country's largest producer of energy. The plant, with an initial 40-megawatt gas turbine, will be financed by the Inter-American Development Bank, the National Electricity Enterprise (ENDE), and the Nordic Fund, which will disburse $10 million for equipment. [Santa Cruz EL MUNDO 10, 11 Dec 93]

CHUQUISACA PETROLEUM, GAS PRODUCTION—According to the YPFB, Chuquisaca Department, which until recently ranked second in petroleum production, now occupies last place. The change occurred after August 1993 when all other departments increased production at a faster rate than Chuquisaca. Nevertheless, Chuquisaca continues

to be number two in gas production behind Santa Cruz, and is the origin of 45 percent of natural gas exported to Argentina. It is estimated that in 1994 three oil wells will be drilled: the Isipote X-1, by the YPFB, with an investment of $3 million; Cuevo X-I, by Chevron, with an investment of $6 million; and Esmeralda, Algarrobal, or Mandeyapecua, by Occidental, with an investment of $5 million [La Paz PRESENCIA DEL PAIS 19 Dec 93]

DONORS' PLEDGES FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, TOURISM, ENVIRONMENT—Following the World Bank-sponsored donors Consultative Group meeting in Washington, D.C. on 9 December, the International Development Association (IDA)—a World Bank affiliate—granted a $40-million loan to assist Bolivia's Social Investment Fund (FIS) in health, education, and potable water programs in depressed rural areas. In addition, a $50.7 million credit line was granted to assist the Integrated Children's Development Project in major cities, and another $137 million for the FIS will be disbursed in 1994-97. During the Consultative Group meeting, it was also decided to finance two tourism promotion projects on the order of $27 million. They include the establishment of a foundation to promote tourism and investments and the formation of a fund to develop the existing tourism infrastructure. In addition, Guillermo Justiniano, minister of sustainable development and environment, announced that projects worth $160 million were presented for his sector. The projects include evaluation of various aspects of the country's ecosystem such as forests and river basins, as well as reforestation projects, especially in the valleys and the altiplano. The minister also suggested Bolivia host a conference on sustainable development to be attended by heads of state of OAS member countries. [La Paz PRESENCIA 9, 24 Dec; EL DIARIO 17 Dec 93]

JAPAN COOPERATION TO COMBAT DROUGHT—The Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) will donate $10 million to the Chuquisaca Regional Development Corporation (CORDECH) to launch the Underground Water Master Plan, which aims at eliminating the persistent annual drought in the Chaco area. The project involves drilling wells deep enough to capture water in sufficient amounts for agriculture, cattle raising, and human consumption. Another JICA team visited Santa Cruz Department and promised a donation of $8 million to combat drought in Cordilleras and Chiquitos provinces. [Santa Cruz EL MUNDO 4 Dec 93; La Paz PRESENCIA DE PAIS 8 Dec 93]

AGREEMENTS WITH JAPANESE AGENCY—JICA is recommending a credit line of $40 million to assist the Bolivian National Railway Enterprise in the acquisition of rolling stock. Japan will also donate $8 million worth of heavy equipment to La Paz Municipality under an agreement signed with JICA representatives and the Bolivian Ministry of Human Development. The equipment is to be used for infrastructure projects around the city. [La Paz EL DIARIO 10 Dec 93; Santa Cruz EL MUNDO 28 Dec 93]

ISRAELI DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE SOUGHT—Jaime Aparicio Otero, the under secretary for international political affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced that Bolivia is seeking investment and assistance from Israel for various development projects. Cooperation is sought in the areas of biotechnology, solar energy, educational reform, and the exploitation of water resources in the Chaco. Israeli experts and companies are already involved in projects to prevent water pollution, recycle water, improve seed stocks, and produce chemicals for the mining industry. [Santa Cruz EL MUNDO 9 Dec 93]

SWISS SUPPORT FOR EXPORTS, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION—Under an agreement signed between Minister of Foreign Affairs Antonio Aranibar and Swiss Commercial Attache Max Inhelder, Switzerland has pledged $4.36 million to support projects promoting agricultural exports and environmental protection. [Cochabamba LOS TIEMPOS 17 Dec 93]

BELGIUM PROMOTES HEALTH PROGRAMS—The Belgian Government will allocate $3 million under an agreement signed with the Bolivian Government to promote the development of the Local Health Networks (SILOS) in Santa Cruz Department. The four-year program will provide training for medical personnel and equipment for health centers. Belgian aid to the country for 1993-95 is expected to be about $18 million. [Cochabamba LOS TIEMPOS 30 Nov 93]

ALTERNATIVE CROPS INCREASING IN THE CHAPARE—According to the Regional Alternative Development Program (PDAR), the cultivation of alternative crops in the Chapare has increased 964.5 percent in the last seven years from 254 hectares in 1986 to 2,608 hectares. Principal crops under cultivation include citrus fruits, pineapples, bananas, palmetto, black peppers, and passion fruit. The area dedicated to grazing has also increased. The farmers, while admitting that the change from coca was difficult at first, have now increased the quantity and quality of their products and expect to export them on the regional and international markets. The establishment of processing plants is also envisaged. A German firm is studying the possiblity of investing $7 million in a plant to process passion fruit juice for export to Europe. [Santa Cruz EL MUNDO 22 Dec 93]

ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN COCHABAMBA—The National Aiternative Development Fund (FONADAL) announced that it has financed some $300 million worth of projects and programs aimed at eliminating illegal coca cultivation in the Cochabamba tropics. One of the principal projects envisaged for 1994, for which $100 million is sought from international donors, is a training program for 50,000 coca farmers in the Chapare province. Other projects include the establishment of processing plants for cooking oil, syrups, vinegar, and fruit in Chimore, and a milk-processing plant in the Ibergarzama region. The Regional Alternative Development Program (PDAR) will invest $15 million in various projects in the Cochabamba tropics, especially the Chapare. Priority will be given to roads, bridges, ditches, and sewerage systems, which will require

financing of approximately $8 million. Overall, the PDAR will receive $120 million up to 1997 under agreements signed with the United States. [Cochabamba LOS TIEMPOS 7, Dec 93; Santa Cruz EL MUNDO 23 Dec 93]

CAMELIDAE CONSERVATION, DEVELOPMENT—Bolivia will become the principal center of a regional cooperation program for the management and conservation of South American camelidae (alpacas, llamas, vicunas, and guanacos). The project will receive support from the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Livestock Cooperation and will receive $800,000 from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and $500,000 (Canadian) from the Canadian Agency for International Development. The program aims at improving the lives of 4,800 families in Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, and Peru who depend on camelidae-raising and occupations deriving from it. [Cochabamba LOS TIEMPOS 29 Nov 93]

MORTALITY, CHILD LABOR, UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS—In a commentary entitled "Burning Realities," commentator Dante Pino Archondo, cites figures from the Ministry of Human Development's statistical analysis unit, UDAPSO, to demonstrate the depth of Bolivian poverty and condemn the government's indifference to it. He also said that in a democracy, social statistics should be "available to all" and not just to a "technocratic elite" that "stresses only what is convenient" and suppresses anything that "threatens its interests."

- 70 percent of Bolivians are poor.
- Of the 2,725,946 Bolivians who live in rural areas, 95.14 percent are poor.
- As of 1991, 73.8 percent of the 2,488,800 Bolivians living in major cities were of working age. Of this total 36 percent were employed, the others were unemployed, or "inactive."
- Mortality rates have decreased—75 per thousand in 1992 from 151 per thousand in 1976.
- Fertility rates have also gone down—5 births per woman in 1992 from 6.5 in 1976. The commentator laments Bolivia's status as a "subworld of the Third World." "We extend our hands to receive charity from other countries calling it donations or nonreimbursable aid because we are unable to pay anything back. That is what we have been reduced to. Bolivia survives." [Cochabamba LOS TIEMPOS 6 Dec 93] The same concerns are further addressed in reports by the Pastoral and Social Episcopal Commission's Department of Research and Analysis and the Ministry of Human Development.
- Infant mortality remains at 126/1000, mainly in rural areas.
- Over half of Bolivian children are malnourished, especially those between six and 24 months of age.
- 30.6 percent of Bolivia's work force are children between the ages of seven and 19.
- Approximately 40,000 children enter the work force each year, according to the 1992 Population and Housing Census. The reports conclude that the main challenges facing the government in its fight against poverty are increases in child and peasant woman labor, and in malnutrition and infant mortality. [La Paz PRESENCIA 7, 24 Dec 93]

SANTA CRUZ GROWTH PATTERNS—The National Population and Housing Census reports that Santa Cruz Department's 4.4 percent population growth rate is the highest in the country and that the population has reached 1.359 million. Unlike other Bolivian departments, the population—living in the province where the departmental capital of Santa Cruz de la Sierra is situated—is mostly urban (71.9 percent). Other data reveal that the average age of a resident of Santa Cruz is 22 years, infant mortality has been reduced from 120 per thousand in 1976 to 57 in 1992, and illiteracy has been reduced to 11.1 percent. Jorge Mirtenbaum, who is responsible for drawing up Santa Cruz City's Urban Development Plan, said that the departmental capital has 700,000 inhabitants and is growing at a rate of 6.42 percent per year. Most immigrants to Santa Cruz come from Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Beni, as well as from other provinces within the department. Mirtenbaum added that the informal sector (street vendors, bootblacks, etc.) represents the city's largest job-producing sector, generating 42.8 percent of its gross domestic product. [Santa Cruz EL MUNDO 19 Dec 93; La Paz PRESENCIA 19 Dec 93]

EL ALTO DEVELOPMENT—The La Paz Regional Development Corporation (CORDEPAZ) will invest $25 million in various projects for El Alto, a satellite city outside La Paz considered the third largest city in Bolivia, with a population of 405,000 and a 9.2 percent population growth rate. El Alto's bishop Msgr. Jesus Juarez pointed out that the city is experiencing "uncontrolled" demographic growth, and that the central government cannot continue to ignore basic needs such as potable water, electricity, sewerage, and employment. He urged the central government and El Alto authorities to seek a "progressive and coordinated solution to prevent the outbreak of crime and violence." [La Paz PRESENCIA 14, 21 Dec 93]

Brazil

Hargreaves To Serve Again as Civilian Household Chief

PY0202001494 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2200 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Henrique Hargreaves, former civilian household chief for the president of the Republic, a few minutes ago accepted President Itamar Franco's invitation to return to his post.

Party Leaders React Angrily to Franco Criticism of Congress

PY0102172794 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 30 Jan 94 p 5

[Excerpts] Brasilia—Political leaders have reacted angrily to President Itamar Franco's letter criticizing Congress and holding it responsible for the defeat of the economic measures. Progressive Party President Alvaro Dias (Parana State) said the government "makes too many mistakes, and is clumsy."

In a conciliatory manner, Tarcisio Delgado (Minas Gerais State), PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] leader in the Chamber of Deputies, agreed with President Franco, admitting that the traditional absence of congressmen in Brasilia on Thursdays represents a problem he has been trying to solve:

"We are going through a very serious crisis, and the economic plan should be fully supported by the Congress," he said. [passage omitted]

Bahia Governor Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, who was charged with hindering the voting, said Franco's attitude against a weakened Congress was cowardly:

"It is cowardly to threaten Congress. Realizing that Congress is weakened, Franco wants to force it to approve a tax increase. What he doesn't realize is that he is as weak, or weaker, than Congress," Magalhaes said.

Refuting Finance Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso's remarks about breaking an accord for the approval of a tax increase, Magalhaes said:

"I had no agreement with him. From the beginning I made it clear that I was against increasing taxes," Magalhaes said.

He added that the Congress overcame its fragility by voting against the government's proposal to increase taxes to be collected from enterprises. He pointed out that Congress is not responsible for the tax increase to be paid by individuals, because it was proposed by the government:

"Cardoso cannot continue fooling the country with his stewardess smile. I would like to challenge him to a television debate," the governor said.

In Magalhaes' opinion, the government presented a plan based only on tax increases. It did not propose any measure to hurt the interests of the financial system or the oligopolies. The Bahia State governor believes that these two sectors of the economy would not be affected by an increase in taxes paid on enterprises' profits, because the companies would cover this difference by increasing prices, the consumers would end up paying for it.

Magalhaes remarked caustically: "Franco is a fool."

Federal Deputy Delfim Netto (Progressive Renewal Party—Sao Paulo) said on 29 January that Franco should send a copy of the letter he handed to the presidents of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate to each one of the 75 congressmen of the PSDB [Brazilian Social Democracy Party] and PMDB who did not appear at Congress last Thursday, 27 January, to vote on the increase in the enterprises' income tax.

Referring to the last part of President Franco's letter calling for congressional support, Delfim Netto asserted that the country is not ungovernable:

All the president must do is govern. The country has been waiting for that. Everything else is empty talk and seeks to justify what is not functioning. The country's governability depends solely on him.

Bishops Chairman Endorses Tax Increase in Economic Plan

PY0102223794 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Bishop Luciano Mendes de Almeida, chairman of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops [CNBB], defends the tax increase foreseen in the government economic plan. Bishop Mendes said this measure is necessary to guarantee resources for national social programs. The CNBB chairman considers Congress' decision not to increase the taxes paid by large companies an injustice.

Gore's Call for Americas Presidential Summit Viewed

PY0102232594 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 30 Jan 94 Section 2 p 2

[Article by Antonio Kandir]

[Text] Vice President Albert Gore made a proposal for a presidential summit conference of the Americas' democratic countries during 1994 after the U.S. Congress approved NAFTA. The conference will be a first step for eventual and future hemispheric integration.

Many people see Gore's proposal as a mere word game. These people argue that the proposal was too vague and did not define a schedule or procedures. They also stress the improbability of NAFTA's extension, at least not to the point of accommodating a free trade zone covering the three Americas, and note the resistance of some American economic sectors that are very sensitive to broader integration.

These are all valuable arguments, but the question is, what are the practical implications? Should Brazil echo Gore's proposal or should we pretend not to have heard anything? The answer depends on people's position as to whether hemispheric integration on Brazil's long-term horizon is in the country's strategic interest.

We should not take too long to answer this question, even if it is only because U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will come to the country soon, and we must suppose that Gore's proposal will be one of the topics on his agenda.

In my opinion, there are more than enough arguments to urge Brazil to give clear signals about its interest in this integration. Besides, we cannot overlook the new market's trade potential. NAFTA, in its present form, has a joint GDP of $6.5 trillion. When extended it will have a joint GDP of nearly $7.3 trillion, and will be bigger than the EEC ($5.8 trillion), and practically equal to the GDP of all the other countries in the world together ($7.6 trillion, excluding EEC countries).

This does not mean Brazil should abandon its multilateralism, which was reinforced by the Uruguay Round of talks and the efforts to create Mercosur [Common Market of the South]. If Brazil looks the other way at Gore's proposal, it will be turning its back on a market that is 12 times larger than Mercosur without holding links to any bloc of any importance at a time when we still do not know which model will prevail in international economic relations in the long run.

The risk of this lack of participation is aggravated by the notorious fact that some or our neighbors, including and above all Argentina, our main Mercosur partner, aspire to join NAFTA and are taking steps in that direction.

Turning our back on eventual hemispheric integration is not advisable for a country that needs and is making every effort to attract productive investments. From the point of view of investors, a refusal to work for integration would increase risks at the time of investing resources in Brazil because it will reinforce the threat of commercial isolation in case multilateral relations deteriorate and economic blocs become fortresses closed to the outside (a risk we cannot rule out in any way, particularly in the case of the European bloc, because of a complicated integration process, and possible steps backward in the former Soviet Union).

It is obvious that the search for accelerated integration at any cost is silly and harmful to national interests. It probably will result in the destruction of entire Brazilian industries that today are in no condition to compete with U.S. manufacturing production.

But today's decisions will condition the future and it is necessary to look at the problem from a dynamic perspective. If our house is cleaned up this year and the process of constitutional revision ends with positive results, the country will have everything to start an age of sustained growth as of 1995. And growth and the possibilities of improving Brazil's social problems will increase if the country improves its prospects for joining other dynamic and broadened markets.

Army Minister De Lucena Interviewed

PY0102164694 Sao Paulo ISTOE in Portuguese 26 Jan 94 pp 4-6

[Interview with Army Minister General Zenildo Gonzaga Zoroastro de Lucena by Benicio Medeiros and Helio Contreiras in Rio de Janeiro; date not given]

[Text] [ISTOE] Did you know Itamar Franco before he became president?

[De Lucena] I knew him by sight when I was serving in Juiz de Fora and he was working—if I am not mistaken—as municipal public works secretary. Now I know him better. I like him very much. He is an honest man, a very correct person.

[ISTOE] Minister Mauricio Correa revealed that there was a group of military men who were determined to turn President Franco into a local Fujimori. Were you aware of this?

[De Lucena] I was. At the time an anonymous document containing a project for a military movement appeared in circulation inside the barracks.

[ISTOE] Did you read the document?

[De Lucena] I looked it over quickly. I can tell you that within the Army no one paid much attention to the document.

[ISTOE] Do you see any possibility of a Peruvian-style coup in Brazil?

[De Lucena] No possibility at all.

[ISTOE] In any case, someone wrote the "military movement" to which you are referring.

[De Lucena] Everybody knows that there are dozens of groups, reserve officers' groups, behind these proposals. They are well-intentioned individuals, but they do not live the problems of those who are in the Army, as I do. These groups do not have any relevance. I usually say—I insist on the matter quite often—that we no longer have parallel or external leaders in the Army. The leaders today are those serving in the institution, or in the position of minister or commander. Anyone from outside trying to lead an internal movement will have to depose the minister first. I am not just bragging. What I say is based on the Constitution.

[ISTOE] Will your leadership end when you leave the Army at the end of the government's mandate?

[De Lucena] Yes. I will leave behind many friends. But I will no longer exercise any leadership function.

[ISTOE] Many interpretations were made of a speech by General Benedito Onofre Bezerra Leonel in November, particularly about his remark on the "anger of the legions." What is the correct interpretation of that remark?

[De Lucena] I do not think any interpretation is necessary. Gen. Leonel copied that phrase from an old Army book. The remark does not have any secret meaning. I have known Leonel since he was a cadet, and I can assure you he is as good a democrat as I.

[ISTOE] What is the Army's situation today?

[De Lucena] The year 1993 was a much better year than 1992. We can still hear complaints about salaries, which are really very low, but the Army achieved many things compared to 1992. We are purchasing some weapons, our schools continue to operate well, and we are pursuing our modernization programs.

[ISTOE] Are you also optimistic about what is happening in Congress?

[De Lucena] I am. I do not like to speak about that, but I believe in renewal and democratic improvement. I do not believe in tough regimes or dictatorships. I believe in democratic regimes, and I believe in people.

[ISTOE] Have you experienced any particularly difficult moment as a minister?

[De Lucena] As a minister, no. I had difficult moments when I was at the Eastern Military Command. We had to decide how to act if Congress did not impeach former President Fernando Collor. Would we go out into the streets to repress the people and defend a president who was clearly involved in corruption and who did not have the people's support? That was the worst moment for us, the military commanders.

[ISTOE] Did you discuss the issue with other military commanders?

[De Lucena] I did. We decided that if there was no impeachment, we were still obligated to defend the president. Fortunately, the theory that the impeachment process would not be approved by Congress was remote. All of us were quite aware of that.

[ISTOE] For whom did you vote in the last elections?

[De Lucena] I voted for Collor in both instances. He disappointed me very much.

[ISTOE] Had you been aware of what was to take place, would you have voted for [Workers Party, PT, leader Luis Ignacio da Silva] Lula?

[De Lucena] Absolutely. He was the other choice. Brazil comes first, does it not?

[ISTOE] Your meeting with Deputy Aloizio Mercadante [Workers Party—Sao Paulo] was much discussed. Do you empathize with the PT?

[De Lucena] I empathize with Deputy Mercadante's father, General Oswaldo Muniz Oliva, who is in the reserves. I see no problem in meeting with a PT deputy. I also met with Deputy Jose Genoino [PT-Sao Paulo], and with deputies from other parties. The Army relies on Congress for many things. There are amendments, drafts that deserve our respect. I am interested in being on good terms with Congress. It is all part of the rites of a democratic regime.

[ISTOE] Sir, do you believe that the anti-left hysteria within the Armed Forces has been overcome?

[De Lucena] Yes, it has been overcome. There are only some reactions of little significance.

[ISTOE] Who are responsible for these reactions?

[De Lucena] People who have not developed, who have not witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall.

[ISTOE] Are there many such people within the Army?

[De Lucena] No, not among those on active duty. I assess the issue in the following manner: There are two kinds of military officers in Brazil—those who graduated from the Royal Military School, and those who graduated from the Agulhas Negras Military Academy [AMAN] in Resende. I believe that the opening of the AMAN school in 1944 marked a change in the mentality of the Brazilian military officer.

[ISTOE] Do you believe you represent a generation of military officers who have a different mentality, a different attitude?

[De Lucena] I believe so. The generations that emerged from AMAN were trained in more open and modern surroundings. What fascinated us in our youth—and many entered the Army because of it—were the deeds of the Allies in World War II. We were fighting for democracy at the time.

[ISTOE] Are you the first officer graduated from AMAN to be appointed Army minister?

[De Lucena] No, the second. The first was General Carlos Tinoco Ribeiro Gomez, who was Army minister during the Collor administration.

[ISTOE] The generation that emerged from the Royal Military School chose the Communists as the enemies of Brazil. Who are Brazil's enemies today?

[De Lucena] As I said after I was installed, I believe that the worse enemy we must face today is poverty, because this is the root of all our evils.

[ISTOE] Is the Army involved in other social assistance areas?

[De Lucena] In the health sector, we assist in vaccination campaigns. In border areas, it is Army doctors who look after the local population. Our doctors and dentists are working in the Amazon region. The Brazilian Army is multifaceted. In the south, we have a more combatant, better trained Army. In the northeast, the Army is more involved in social assistance activities. In the northeast, we have engineering battalions who drill wells and build dikes.

[ISTOE] Is the Brazilian Army well equipped?

[De Lucena] We have made a great effort to modernize it. President Franco obtained some resources, and we will be receiving a lot of modern equipment by June. This is a good thing, because it motivates young officers and helps us to avoid those problems we faced in the past.

[ISTOE] Will Brazil sign the missile treaty that the Argentine Government has just signed?

[De Lucena] I have nothing against it. But all treaties of this nature are being reviewed by Congress. The Army is not in charge of conducting the negotiations.

[ISTOE] The trend in countries such as the United States is to reduce the number of military troops and to have professional soldiers. Are you in favor or against mandatory military service?

[De Lucena] Completely in favor. I believe it is a necessity, and I also believe it is good for the upbringing of young men. I usually say that the Brazilian Army is different. It cannot be compared with the American Army. The United States has world interests, and has to look after its capability and political power. The concept of the Brazilian Army is that which prevails in France: that of the citizen-soldier. A lot of money is spent to support a trained soldier. The Army must pay good salaries if it is to compete in the job market. This would not be good for us. Moreover, I do not believe we have a large Army. The Brazilian Army has 200,000 men. I believe this figure is compatible with our country's needs.

[ISTOE] During the Geisel administration, the Army was alloted 16 percent of the national budget. Today it is alloted only 0.5 percent of the budget. What is your opinion of this?

[De Lucena] I believe this is a ridiculous amount. The most serious problem is that concerning salaries. And it is not only within the Army. Today all officers are poorly paid. This month we will get a slight salary increase to compensate for last year's loss in purchasing power. We are not happy about it, but it helps. It is disturbing to see someone reach the end of his career without being able to support a child.

[ISTOE] There are officers who want their salaries to be equivalent to that of personnel from the legislative and judiciary branches on the basis of the principle of salary equalization. What is your opinion?

[De Lucena] I believe that salary equalization is a utopia. It does not exist. What is important is to implement a salary policy that reduces today's foolishness.

[ISTOE] Many military officers who were involved in the 1964 revolution believed that corruption in Brazil was monopolized by civilians. What is your opinion?

[De Lucena] I disagree. I believe that because of its own structure the Army is in a better condition to repress corruption when it arises. In the Army there is immediate punishment. In addition, the admission criteria for the Army are much stricter than those for Congress. Nevertheless, I do not believe anyone holds a monopoly on corruption.

[ISTOE] Do you admire any civilian leaders?

[De Lucena] I have always been a fan of good administrators. Carlos Lacerda was a great administrator. There are also some contemporary politicians whom I greatly admire, such as Finance Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Deputy Roberto Magalahes, who was governor of my home state.

[ISTOE] Does the Army empathize with current events in Congress?

[De Lucena] Absolutely. I was disgusted when I learned that public resources, which could have been put to good use, are serving personal interests.

[ISTOE] Are there people in the Army who still believe that all politicians are thieves?

[De Lucena] Of course there are. But this is also true of civilians. Wasn't it Lula who said that there were 300 swindlers in Congress? That is right. But this is unimportant, because the guilty will be punished.

[ISTOE] You referred to the extreme poverty issue. Is the Army also concerned about violence, particularly that in Rio de Janeiro?

[De Lucena] Undoubtedly, but this a very delicate issue about which I would not like to comment.

[ISTOE] Will the much discussed Army intervention in the hills [of Rio de Janeiro] ever take place?

[De Lucena] No, unless either the governor or the president requests it. We cannot take on the fight against violence, because the Constitution does not allow it. A 19-year-old serving in the Army is not trained to climb the hill and fight drug traffickers. As I have said, this is a very delicate issue. What we can do is what is being done: support the Federal Police and the local state police forces.

[ISTOE] Was the military regime good or bad for Brazil?

[De Lucena] It was good because it built an infrastructure that the country lacked. That cannot be denied. But from the point of view of political progress, of course it was harmful.

[ISTOE] Will you stay in government until the end of the Franco administration?

[De Lucena] Yes, unless they kick me out before that.

[ISTOE] Do you believe there may some antagonism within the Army regarding Lula's candidacy?

[De Lucena] I do not think so. What I can guarantee is the following: Whoever wins, will lead. The Army will guarantee the installation of the next president in compliance with the Constitution, whoever is elected.

[ISTOE] What do you intend to do after the Franco administration, when you leave the Army?

[De Lucena] I am going to try to be a good grandfather.

Workers Party Military Policy Outlined

PY0202010994 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 31 Jan 94 Section 1 p 6

[Interview with retired Colonel Geraldo Cavagnari, director of strategic studies at the University of Campinhas, who was chosen by the Workers Party, PT, to outline the party's military policy for presidential candidate Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva by Emanuel Neri; place and date not given]

[Text] [Neri] If da Silva is elected, does the PT intend to enlarge investments in the military area from 0.5 percent to 2 percent of the GDP?

[Cavagnari] The current investment in the military area is 0.5 percent of the GDP, and it is believed that this is not enough to maintain a military force with satisfactory operational capabilities. Now that the Armed Forces' reorganization and the updating of its equipment with new technology have been proposed, that percentage should be increased to 2 percent of the GDP if possible. It is made clear, however, that this gradual increase over five years must not obstruct social priorities.

[Neri] Does the PT hopes to restart all the military programs?

[Cavagnari] Of the programs that must be continued, only the nuclear and the Calha Norte programs are considered controversial. The first one is controversial by its own nature; it is the nuclear submarine. The Calha Norte program because it enlarges the military presence in an area sensitive to environmentalists. [sentence as published] But the two programs are necessary for Brazil. I also will propose the continuation of the space, AMX (aircraft), and Antarctic programs.

[Neri] Why are the nuclear and Calha Norte programs important?

[Cavagnari] In addition to developing scientific and technological training, the nuclear program will give the country the possibility of getting the means (nuclear submarine) for a more effective defense of the maritime border. The Calha Norte program will help reinforce the defense of the northern border region. Currently, both the border region north of Solimoes-Amazonas and the maritime border are the two most sensitive areas of the national territory, and are poorly defended.

[Neri] Does the PT hope to create a defense ministry?

[Cavagnari] Brazil is the only country in the world that does not have a defense ministry. Its creation aims to guarantee unity for carrying out the defense policy by putting aside the confrontation of the specific interests of each force—Army, Navy, and Air Force. It is clear that this initiative also will contribute to consolidating the Armed Forces' subordination to the civilian power. There is no doubt that this will contribute to the rational use of the budget based on a single defense policy.

[Neri] How are the Armed Forces behaving in the current political crisis in the country?

[Cavagnari] They have had exemplary behavior. They made an explicit declaration that they will make the greatest effort not to run away from democracy.

[Neri] With the end of the national security doctrine and the cold war, does the Armed Forces have enemies now?

[Cavagnari] Brazil is a country that has threats, no question about it. But the threats are to the environment, to biodiversity. There is no doubt that the obstructions to Brazil having access to advanced technology are threats to national interests. But they are threats that do not justify the use of force. What happens is that those that threaten have a military capability so disproportional in relation to us that we cannot consider it a threat that must be eliminated by force.

[Neri] Do you believe a better use of the Armed Forces could be made to prevent them from being inactive?

[Cavagnari] The Armed Forces must be used for what they were created for—that is, national defense. They must be prepared and trained for that. This does not prevent them, however, from cooperating under certain circumstances in other nonmilitary activities. They can be used at certain times, under certain critical situations, even in public security. They can be used in the construction of roads and dams but not as part of their main activities but as a complement, as simple civil cooperation.

[Neri] What is the current profile of Brazilian officers?

[Cavagnari] In technical terms our officers are well prepared. Unfortunately, we are experiencing difficulties and even the development of that training is jeopardized. In terms of political thoughts, I would say that Brazilian officers are evolving, maturing. They are losing some authoritarian way of thinking in Brazil and they already are admitting that Brazil must be thought of within the framework of democracy.

[Neri] Do you think the officers are currently more democratic?

[Cavagnari] I would say there are increasingly more officers who accept democracy. Those who do not accept democracy, those who are authoritarian by nature, are becoming a minority among the military.

[Neri] Some Armed Forces members oppose the demarcation of Indian reserves. What do you think of this?

[Cavagnari] They react because of the size of the land granted to the Indians. They react because they cannot accept that Indian lands do not allow a military presence in them. They cannot accept that national sovereignty cannot be exercised on these lands. They are right, especially regarding border areas.

[Neri] What do you think must be modified in the Constitution regarding the Armed Forces?

[Cavagnari] We must eliminate the words "law and order." The Armed Forces should only defend the fatherland and the government powers. In the case of national defense, the objects of defense are the national territory and interests. Within the constitutional order the objects of defense are the political institutions of a democratic state of law. The reference to order (foreseen in the current Constitution) allows the government to use the Armed Forces against any law-threatening movement, sometimes, unjustifiably.

[Neri] Is there less Armed Forces resistance to an eventual triumph by da Silva? Is there any risk of insubordination?

[Cavagnari] There is no risk of insubordination in case of his triumph. Da Silva's acceptance rate is increasing while the rate of rejection is decreasing. He has an acceptance rate higher than in 1989.

[Neri] Why have you joined the PT?

[Cavagnari] I have been cooperating with the PT since 1987. In 1989, when da Silva ran in a second round of voting, I was invited, together with other people, to prepare a draft of the PT's policy for the military. I maintained that contact. I have not officially joined any party, but among all the Brazilian political parties, I prefer the PT. I agree with many of its policies and disagree with a few others.

[Neri] What are the issues you disagree with?

[Cavagnari] I do not favor nationalizations as much as other PT groups. I do not defend government monopoly as much as other PT groups do. As for foreign capital, I am a bit more liberal than other PT groups.

Curriculum Vitae

Complete name: Geraldo Lesbat Cavagnari Filho

Born: 21 August 1934 in Paranagua, Parana.

Status: Married, three children.

Studies: Social sciences graduate from the PUC [Pontifical Catholic University] of Curitiba, Parana. Artillery course in the Agulhas Negras Military Academy. Advanced artillery course in the Army Officers Advanced Training School. Advanced military studies in the Army Command and Staff School.

Activities: Professor in the Army Command and Staff School. Founder and director of the Strategic Studies Nucleus of Unicamp [Campinas State University], Sao Paulo.

Ecuador

Increased Fuel Prices Spark More Strikes, Disturbances

PA0102175794 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1612 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Report by Antonio Martinez]

[Excerpt] Quito, 1 Feb (EFE)—Today, protests over the gasoline price increases of up to 71 percent caused renewed disturbances in several Ecuadoran cities. Additionally, students announced a nationwide strike for tomorrow and another by labor unions on Thursday.

In Quito and other cities, there have been demonstrations every day since last Thursday, prior to the government's announcement of the price increases on Friday. At least 10 policemen and an undisclosed number of youths have either been wounded or injured. According to the local press, approximately 60 students have been arrested during clashes with the police.

Several student organizations have scheduled a nationwide strike tomorrow and the United Workers Front (FUT), Ecuador's most influential labor union, has summoned all sectors to a strike on Thursday. Indian associations, teachers unions and other organizations support the FUT strike.

The transportation sector has also warned the government that it will join the strike if state subsidies are not increased since the sector has been banned from raising bus fares.

Thursday's strike will be the third nationwide strike by labor unions against Sixto Duran-Ballen's conservative government since he took office in 1992.

FUT President Edgar Ponce warned that if the government refuses to take the protests into consideration and maintains its decision to increase gasoline prices, the FUT will call an "indefinite" strike on a later date. Ponce says the government's economic policy could prompt a "social explosion" in Ecuador like those in Chiapas (Mexico) and Santiago del Estero (Argentina).

Without joining the calls for a strike, business organizations, professional associations, opposition parties, and even certain deputies from the ruling party have also protested.

Former President Leon Febres Cordero (1984-88), mayor of Guayaquil, the most densely populated city in the country, described the increased prices as "crazy,"

and he said Ecuador is now "the poorest country on earth with the most expensive gasoline on earth." [passage omitted]

Vice President Emerges 'Unscathed' From Quito Demonstration

PA0202004294 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 1 Feb 94

[From "The Voz Andes" newscast]

[Excerpt] Hundreds of students protested today against the government after fuel prices were increased by up to 71 percent. Despite rain and low temperatures in Quito, university and high school students had serious confrontations with the police, whose numbers have been insufficient to contain the demonstrators.

Vice President Alberto Dahik became a target of the protests in spite of the public force deployment downtown and throughout the city. A group of students threw rocks at the vice president's vehicle and broke the windows as he approached his offices near the presidential palace. Witnesses said Vice President Dahik emerged unscathed from the shower of rocks. The police reported that the demonstrators then tried to reach the presidential palace but were turned back by tear gas.

The Army began increasing security at the Ecuadoran presidential palace on Friday in the face of a wave of protests against the increase in fuel prices. More than 28 protest centers have been pinpointed in the capital. Students in Guayaquil held demonstrations during which transportation vehicles were hijacked and tires burned.

The government has announced the suspension of classes on 2, 3, and 4 February throughout the nation in light of the general protest situation. Education Minister Rosalia Arteaga said: We ask the people to remain calm because violent attitudes do not solve the nation's internal problems. On the contrary, the problems get worse as they create a climate of uncertainty. Politicians responded that the Ecuadoran people have at the very least the right to protest.

Student federations and centers as well as teachers associations called for a strike on Wednesday. The workers called for a 24-hour preventive national strike on Thursday to protest the new prices and to exert pressure on the government to rectify the measures. [passage omitted]

Paraguay

Dissident Colorado Deputy Favors U.S. Military Aid

PY0102180394 Asuncion NOTICIAS in Spanish 30 Jan 94 p 4

[Text] Dissident Colorado Deputy Walter Bower yesterday harshly criticized President Juan Carlos Wasmosy, and warned that it would be "a crime against the fatherland" for us to reject "this type of aid, in a country like ours, which is in dire need of everything" (alluding to the offer for U.S. military engineers to build schools, roads, and a clinic in San Pedro).

Bower was thus criticizing Wasmosy for planning to reject the offer made by the United States, which in turn has asked to be allowed to stage long-range military deployment exercises in our country.

Bower said: "In a country in dire need of everything, where the people lack basic standards of living and where any handout can bring relief, it would be absurd and extremely foolish for us to pointlessly indulge in the luxury of turning down this type of aid."

Bower added: "Formal topics (regarding the Paraguayan-U.S. draft agreement) may be resolved, and questions may be addressed to the U.S. Embassy. We cannot, however, deprive our people of $12 million in aid, which would bring education, water, and health to them."

"It would be a crime against the fatherland to reject this aid from the American people. Congress has the moral obligation to make this aid possible, because it would bring relief to those fellow countrymen who are living under inhuman conditions."

Deputy Bower is a notary public who is a member of the Luis Maria Argana-led Colorado faction. He dismissed rumors that either alleged intelligence work or a drug enforcement operation would be surreptitiously conducted during the deployment of the U.S. forces.

Bower said: "There is nothing behind this. What could 600 men do there, except work? If some people are afraid of the U.S. presence here, it is perhaps because they have something to hide."

Bower also reported that he and other lawmakers had talked to some senior officers who conveyed their support for Washington's request.

Boser said: "We have talked to several senior officers who fully endorse this operation. In this case we cannot even raise the issue of violation of sovereignty, because we are not at war with the United States."

He added: "And if they want to snoop around for drugs, let them do so. We are tired of wearing the label of drug traffickers only because of two or three criminals who act as though they own this country."

Drug, Investment Protection Agreements Signed With Peru

PY0102203294 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 1 Feb 94 p 12

[Text] Lima—The governments of Paraguay and Peru agreed to combat the improper use, production, and illegal trafficking of drugs and psychotropic substances. This agreement was signed on 31 January by Paraguayan

Foreign Minister Luis Maria Ramirez Boettner and his Peruvian counterpart, Efrain Goldenberg Schreiber.

The agreement's purpose is to promote cooperation between the governments of Paraguay and Peru in order to prevent and combat with greater efficiency the illegal trafficking and abuse of drugs and psychotropic substances by harmonizing their policies and developing coordinated actions and programs.

In order to fulfill the agreement's objectives, the two countries' pertinent services will exchange information about preventive measures against drug abuse in their respective territories.

They also will prepare joint strategies to prevent drug abuse, the illegal production of drugs, and to repress drug trafficking. They also will exchange information about illegal trafficking and the use of precursors and basic chemicals, illegal trafficking routes, and the modus operandi of drug traffickers.

The two countries' foreign ministers have likewise signed another agreement for the reciprocal protection and promotion of investments, wishing to intensify economic cooperation to the two countries' benefit. The document states that each country will guarantee the investments and free transfer of payments connected with these investments, especially profits, loan mortgages, and others made by the other country.

Ramirez Boettner and Goldenberg Schreiber also signed a cooperation agreement between the Diplomatic and Consular Academies of Asuncion and Lima. In turn, Presidents Wasmosy and Fujimori signed a joint declaration in which they reasserted the friendship between the governments and peoples of Paraguay and Peru.

Peru

Dissidents Threaten SL Leaders Who Favor Peace Agreement

PY0202020094 Lima EXPRESO in Spanish 25 Jan 94 p A15

[Text] The Shining Path [SL] dissident faction on 24 January rejected the actions carried out by members of the Shining Path leadership to reach "a peace agreement" with the government and labeled them "capitulators, informers, and cowards."

The manifesto is a reply to a letter released on 23 January in which many Shining Path inmates expressed their "decided and total support for the strategic decision" of Abimael Guzman to negotiate peace with the government.

The dissident SL faction's manifesto was sent to several Lima newspapers and signed by a so-called SL Lima Regional Committee and a "Committee of Relatives of Peruvian Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, and Missing People." This latter committee, which presents itself as a SL military branch for the first time, apparently has abandoned its semi-legal status and decided to go underground.

The dissident faction is headed by Oscar Ramirez Durand, alias "Comrade Feliciano," who allegedly is responsible for the attacks that took place in Lima in December on the occasion of Mao's 100th birthday.

The dissidents use violent language against those who approve of the peace initiative ("revisionist bitch's excrement") and accuse them of being "servants of Yankee imperialism."

The threats are aimed against the members of the SL leadership, including Osman Morote Barrionuevo, Martha Huatay, Maria Pantoja, and Edmundo Cox Beuzeville, among others.

According to the manifesto, those SL leaders want to murder Guzman, whom the dissidents continue to respect as their leader. According to analysts consulted by this daily, this demonstrates the desperate efforts this dissident faction is making to make their decimated followers believe that their top leader is not aware of the peace negotiations, when it is widely known to the public that Guzman himself has sent several letters to the government asking for a peace agreement.

Fujimori Denies Meeting Shining Path Leader Guzman

PY0102202994 Lima EXPRESO in Spanish 25 Jan 94 p A5

[Text] Celedin—President Alberto Fujimori denied meeting Shining Path leader Abimael Guzman Reinoso in his cell at the Callao naval base, as was reported in the media a few days ago.

The press report states that during the meeting it was agreed that from now on the government will use the criminal organization's financial resources for purposes other than subversive activities. [sentence as publsihed]

Fujimori, after asserting that he has not and will not hold a meeting with Guzman, said the report was "biased and ill-intended," but did not refer to the media.

Fujimori also confirmed that drug trafficker Demetrio Chavez Penaherrera, alias "Vaticano," has been placed at the disposal of Dincote [National Counterterrorism Directorate] after it was established he had clear connections with terrorist groups, especially the Shining Path.

He went on to immediately explain that that does not mean Dinandro [the Police Antidrug Division] will stop its investigations into drug trafficking. He said: "Investigations will continue simultaneously."

The chief of state had a busy agenda in this province in Cajamarca Department, where he arrived at noon on 24

January with the Canadian ambassador and Transportation Minister Dante Cordoba and Agriculture Minister Absalon Vasquez.

The president dedicated an irrigation canal the region's farmers have been longing for for 56 years. Some 2,000 farmers will benefit from the system that will expand the agricultural zone toward the mountain range.

Fujimori also offered an ambulance to the local health center and to repair schools that are in a poor shape.

'Secret' Shining Path Document Released

PY0202004394 Lima LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 25 Jan 94 Special Supplement pp I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII

[Unattributed article: "Secret Document: Shining Path Uses Peace Agreement to Stall for Time," which was "approved" by the Shining Path Central Committee—first 10 paragraphs are introductory editorial explanation]

[Text] For the sole purpose of reporting the events occurring in the country, LA REPUBLICA publishes the following Shining Path document which reveals the intentions of [Shining Path leader] Abimael Guzman Reinoso's followers with respect to the peace treaty that they are negotiating with government officials at the Callao Naval Base prison.

The Maoists believe that just because they are talking with government representatives does not mean they have to lay down their arms, and that the cease fire is only temporary until conditions are ripe for restarting hostilities.

Specialists believe the following document may have been written by Abimael Guzman himself. It was approved by Central Committee members Elena Iparraguirre Revoredo, Osman Morote Barrionuevo, Martha Huatay Ruiz, Maria Pantoja Sanchez, and Angelica Sala, who are all imprisoned.

The contents of the document, the quotes from books, and the reference to recent facts—like the referendum and Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan, reveal that the author—or authors—have been allowed to watch television, to read newspapers and magazines and, as in the case of Guzman, allowed to consult a library.

The manuscript serves to compel the majority of prisoners endorse the "fight for a peace agreement" slogan. The document reveals that the bases of a popular war have not been specifically abandoned. On the contrary, referring to the murders and attacks that stained the country with blood over the past 13 years, Guzman boasts having directed "the largest revolutionary social movement in Peruvian history."

He defends his current decision to "fight for a peace agreement" on the grounds that the first stage of the "world revolution" has ended. This may be a strategy to gain time, through "diplomatic language," and to temporarily suspend terrorist actions until the "new stage" of the world revolution begins.

The document is also a call to his followers "to stick very close" to the masses in the style of the political work carried out by the Shining Path in Ayacucho during the 1960's and 1970's, which served as the basis for the start of the armed struggle in May 1980.

The document gives the predictions of Abimael Guzman about the probable split of his organization as well as the call "to set the basis" for the Shining Path Second Congress (the first congress was held in 1988).

LA REPUBLICA discloses this important and unusual Shining Path document, making clear that it does not share its content, so that the country may learn the proposals by Shining Path leaders during the negotiations for the Peace Agreement.

Key Ideas

1. The MLM-PG [Marx, Lenin, Mao - Thoughts of Gonzalo] is undefeated and imperishable (it was never defeated), because it is the ideology of the last class of history.

2. We are Communists, Maoists, soldiers of the proletariat, our essence is Maoism, wherever we fight and with the arms that we have.

We should carefully bear in mind what Mao has taught: "The next 50-100 years... new things, new problems, which must consequently be resolved."

It is necessary to continue to play our role, there is fear of making a decision.

Those who have always fought us still do so. Why?

3. The MLM-PG is our special weapon... Bear in mind what was agreed upon at the Third Plenary Session (III S.P.). We are confronting new problems, which should be resolved by using the Thoughts of Gonzalo (PG).

4. Adopt the new decision and the new definition, and fight for them.

These four key ideas should be at the foundation of our conception of things.

TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS

Our conception, our ideology has a base: Marxism. It should be used in our concrete circumstances.

- Quotes of Mao.
- Chapter V ("War and Peace"). This should be studied and applied.
- "...This ML [Marxist-Leninist] Principle of the Revolution: Has Universal Validity."

The principle is not being questioned. The point is how to apply it in concrete circumstances. (Bear in mind the experience of the 1960's and 1970's).

The party, the organized masses, and the public have created the conditions for the Beginning of the Armed Struggle (ILA).

- Quote No. 1 from Chapter V: "War is the highest level of struggle to resolve the contradictions between the classes..."

"War begins and develops in specific circumstances. If circumstances change, the method of struggle should be changed. [no closing quotation marks as published]

- Quote No. 3 [order as published] from Chapter V: "The classification of fair and unfair wars, what to do when there is an unfair war... The way to oppose an unfair war is to prevent it from breaking out, and—if it breaks out—wage a fair war to counter the unfair war, whenever possible." The "whenever possible" is also valid for us when we face an unfair war (even if it is a response to our action). This should not be read just from an abstract point of view, its application should also be understood).
- Quote No. 2 of Chapter V: Relation between War and Politics: "Until the obstacle is totally removed, war will continue..." (text of 34 [not further specified]; contradictions are analyzed in 37). See Chun Chin's conversations in 1946, Volume IV; it implies continuing with the democratic revolution.

Did Mao Zedong deny The Principle? No, he applied it in a creative way in the wake of the war against Japan. Public opinion was in favor of peace. Mao taught that public opinion had to be taken into account. Thus, he decided to hold talks. Important concessions were made. Where did the problem lie? Following the signing of the agreement between Mao—who did so on behalf of the PCCh [Chinese Communist Party]—and the KMT [Kuomintang, the People's National Party] led by Chiang Kai-Shek, the latter violated the agreement and launched a counteroffensive. But he did not violate any principle. In general one should not read without trying to see the practical application of what one is reading. It is therefore possible to say that politics is a bloodless war whereas war is bloody politics.

The People's Law: "Fight, fail, ... cause social unrest."

This great Class Struggle Law takes precedence over the Laws of Imperialism and reaction, and the People. [sentence as published]

Class struggle is the great and ongoing class war waged against politicians that has two types:

1. Bloodless—"politics is a bloodless war."

2. Bloody—"war is bloody politics."

These are different aspects of the great political war, which is the class struggle. Class struggle is now the development of a contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, the essence of which is to fight and cause social unrest. These two laws constitute the great Class Struggle Law, which is a contradiction, the terms of which are—on one hand—to cause social unrest, which sows the seeds of ruin and—on the other hand—to fight, which in turn leads to victory. Failures are sure to be met in both cases—while old ideas lead to ruin, new ones lead to victory. This is a great inexorable law. One should not be afraid of failure, the important thing is to fight—hence the importance of the great Marxist truth—"Revolution is Worthwhile." It is of utmost importance to study this and then put it into practice.

Quotes—page 237 [as published]

Quotes—page 225 [as published] It is of paramount importance not to be subjective, unilateral, and superficial.

Subjective = not taking circumstances into account; only consider the overall picture.

Chapter VIII. Left-wing Movement: Communism's Infantile Disease

"Communists are Communists because throughout the intermediate stages and throughout all the commitments—not the ones taken by them but by the progress of the historical development process—they clearly see and unerringly strive to achieve their final objective, namely, the abolition of classes and the establishment of a society in which private ownership of land and the means of production no longer exist."

Six Slogans

1. Let Us Struggle for a Peace Agreement! (Leading political guideline)

2. Become the Standard-Bearers for Our Cause!

3. Take on and Combat for the New Great Decision and the Great Definition!

4. Close Ranks behind the PG and the Central Leadership!

5. Become the Standard-Bearers for the New Great Decision and Definition!

6. Glory to M-L-M [Marxism-Leninism-Maoism]!

What is a Communist?

Do we understand the historical process, are we objective or subjective people? Are we in control of what is happening or does reality have us in its grip? Communists see clearly (though there may be disorder, confusion).

"... The 33 Blanco followers [not further identified] are Communists because they think they can skip intermediate stages ... and that the seizure of power will happen in the next few days—they are absolutely certain about this. Once power is seized, Communism will be imposed the following day. If this cannot be effected at once, then they are not Communists."

What childish naivete it is to use one's impatience as a theoretically convincing argument!

Naturally, very young and inexperienced revolutionaries, as well as little bourgeois revolutionaries—even those of a very respectable age and with vast experience—believe it is extremely dangerous, incomprehensible, and erroneous to "reach agreements."

Many sophists, petty politicians ... think along the same lines, what do they do every day?—commitments to capitulation.

"And yet, proletarians who have gone through the school of numerous strikes ... are able to assimilate the deep truth."

"PHILOSOPHICAL TRUTH" = Corresponds to contradiction; it is a winding road.

"HISTORICAL TRUTH" = Development process of revolutions, like class struggle.

"POLITICAL TRUTH" = The day-to-day struggle to come to power, it expresses this need.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL TRUTH" = How it is understood from a class standpoint; To see the difference between commitments derived from the present state of affairs ... commitments that do not lessen in the least the revolutionary negation or the willingness to continue with the struggle as a result of the commitment that the workers have taken. To differentiate the latter from subjective commitments that serve a particular interest, commitments of traitors who seek to safeguard their own interests ...

Strike breakers also make commitments! Their cowardice, their desire to adulate.... for crumbs... seeking the praise of the capitalists.

Not all commitments are simple, there are international and national commitments. We must assess the two situations! Lenin's words are more directly applied to our case: "No Commitment" is absurd.

What is a mature Class Party that deserves to be called such, and which has leaders who deserve to be called such? .... It consists of winning over, through prolonged efforts, all representatives of a given class who are capable of thinking. Lenin: In any class there are and always will be ... representatives of that class that do not think, that are incapable of thinking for themselves, otherwise Imperialism would not be the oppressor of classes that it is. The leaders are the ones who have more knowledge, more experience, and the necessary political sagacity to achieve a prompt and fair solution to complex political problems (To have the necessary self-sacrifice to do so; not just to know things, but also to make decisions).

- Volume 4 - 151 PM [Thoughts of Mao] page 430-443
- The interview granted to EL DIARIO by the P.G. [expansion unknown]

Thought Lessons from the People's War, the issue of leaderships, "the forging of a leadership is specific, it is not improvised ... Leadership of the People's War." Page 8 (EL DIARIO Edition). Chiefs, Leaderships. There are groups, chiefs, and leadership - page 11 (idem).

Community Experience. Do not lower the flag, it remains hoisted until victory is achieved. No matter the cost. Page 20 (idem).

Page 32 (idem) about dialogue; Regarding the final part of the war, not to be enforced mechanically.

I. A NEW DECISION AND A NEW DEFINITION

1. A stage of the Revolution is over. We must fight for a future wave of the World Proletariat Revolution (R.P.M.). A grandiose and unforgettable stage of the R.P.M. is over.

There is an International Political Withdrawal (Strategic and Global), this stage has left us with three great banners: Marx-Lenin-Mao, which show that the MLM is unwithering, unconquerable.

Engels in 1891 in his "Introduction to the Civil War in France", taught us that there would be an R.P.M. withdrawal and that it was impossible to conquer power. It was necessary to resolve the issues through new forms of struggles and organization, mainly military issues. He makes an assessment of 50 years of R.P.M.; there was a general political withdrawal. This is what Marx refers to when he established the First International (Workers International Association). The Communist Party Manifesto and the Workers International Association are different.

In 1891, imperialism was being established, a new division of the world was underway. For 30 years, power could not be conquered, and the issues concerning the forms of struggle and organization could not be resolved. Things are different now. In 1917, Lenin resolved this, and in 1949 Mao resolved the problem of the road to the Revolution in semi-feudal, semi-colonial, and bureaucratic capitalist countries. In the Great Cultural Proletariat Revolution (1966-76) he resolved the problem of the continuation of the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- Mao: Chapters on charts in the first quotation proposes the training of people to continue.
- In that way we previously maintained that the World Revolution Offensive Strategy [Ofensiva Estrategica de la Revolucion Mundial] (OERM) started in the 1980's. Today we have developed and we believe that the period 1976-80 is a very short time. The OERM starts with the Great Cultural Proletariat Revolution because it occurs at the height of the R.P.M. and the National Liberation Movement [Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional] (MLN), under the leadership of the proletariat. In so doing, Mao seeks to develop and expand the R.P.M.
- See Mao, Quotes chapter on Imperialism, page. 83: There are two kinds of wind, the East wind prevails. In 1957, page 80: "Imperialism Will Not Live Long."

Make the effort to understand the great stages, and remember Mao: "The next 50 to 100 years...," that is

from the year 2010 to the year 2060; therefore, a new wave is developing. It must be understood within the framework of the development of the contradiction between Restoration and Counter Restoration. We must consider the historical background, the Development of the Class Struggle Law. It took the Bourgeoisie Revolution 300 years to take hold. In the 16th Century the Revolution took hold in Holland. It was later crushed by Spain in the 17th Century. In England the victory of the Bourgeoisie Revolution was achieved in two stages: The Revolution led by Oliver Cromwell in 1640 (he failed); and in 1688 the "The Glorious Revolution" was victorious: Just 48 years separate the first revolution from the second. In the 18th Century, there was the U.S. Independence in 1776; in France the revolution succeeded in 1789. England became the First Power of the World after the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" (Naval Battle); It took almost 90 years for the bourgeoisie to impose and consolidate itself in England.

If it took the bourgeoisie 300 years to conslidate itself as a class power, the proletariate cannot be expected to do the same in the 66 years (two-thirds of century) that it has exercised its dictatorship over the state through the Socialist Revolution.

The difference with the RGR [General Withdrawal of the Revolution] of 1891 should be noted (Engels made the balance).

The current RGR stems from the process of restoration, because an unfavorable public opinion has developed about this stage of the revolution (140 years). Three years have already passed since RGR. From the point of view of Maoism—which is a decisive, key factor in designing the strategy of the RPM [World Proletariat Revolution] in the New Great Wave—we understand why this period is the transition between the crowning point of one stage of the RPM and the future Great Wave of the RPM. This is the foundation of the general political withdrawal, among other things.

Lenin: "Karl Marx taught us to analyze tactical problems." To dare to think, to dare to act, to dare to decide. Going against the stream is a Marxist principle. Does everything we have been analyzing oppose what we have maintained, that "The Revolution is the Main Trend!?" One should see the difference.

1.- TREND. It is unquestionable and inexorable that, from a historical viewpoint, the revolution is the main trend. It would be sufficient to invoke the process of development of new things, and the contradiction. Bear in mind the example: "The Pampas River is born and, after a long and winding course, it reaches the sea. It should be understood that history does not go back, that development is a spiral, uneven process. Time is measured in decades, not in years, and historical steps are not so brief."

2.- THE REVOLUTION AS A POLITICAL TREND (Study very carefully). At least five to six years are needed for the international stage and the situation to become clear. What will be the concrete results of U.S. hegemony? What will be the concrete results of Russia's disintegration? What will be the strengthening and the role of other powers, Japan and Germany? In the revolution, what will be the specifics of the RGR? What does the International Revolutionary Movement (MRI) think of these matters? Mao taught us that there are many Communist parties where Communist only appear in their letterhead. What is their situation now? See the situation of periods and the organizations of the proletariat. How are the unions? These are situations of which we have to make an in-depth analysis. What is the situation of class organizations, of peasant organizations? What does national and world opinion say? The direction of Communist parties is a key factor; the classes, the Anti-imperialist Movement.

SUMMARIZING, make an in-depth analysis of the development of the struggle of classes, its rules, trends, and prospects. The old mole about which Marx taught us has not disappeared, it is alive.

If there were no political trend, there would be no historical trend. The political trend is now underground, and one should realize this.

The debris of disintegration and of restorations (USSR and China) has fallen upon our shoulders and we must bear it; yet the political trend lies inside Communist parties, among Communists, within the class, in the anti-imperialist war. Socialism existed and we saw it. The main right is to conquer power. Rebellion is justified! Consequently, it has not disappeared, it is an underlying political trend. Marx analyzed this process. He raised the issue of "The Deep Waters," saying that "the old mole again works the land." This is how the trend occurs from a political point of view, like underground water. The political factor is decisive: the direction of Communist parties. One should again study this, it is very important for us to reaffirm our position in the revolution, as the main historical trend, which operates politically, routinely. At a world level, there is a new distribution of the cake and new contradictions are being created.

Imperialism is Slowly But Inexorably Agonizing—Third Plenary Session (III SP)

What are the current specific signs? It continues, but it is inexorably agonizing. (Bear in mind the III SP on the collapse of imperialism); yet there is also temporary recuperation. What Lenin taught us in "The Imperialist Stage ...," "Socialism... and Imperialism," "Revisionism... and Imperialism" is true and fully valid.

How can we regard imperialism today? We see it in the light of the MLM to resolve new problems.

What are the material grounds for this situation? The economic situation that gave rise to it was the petroleum, coal, and iron and steel industry. Today there are new sources of jobs, some of them very sophisticated, like informatics, electronic communications—which are

great development processes—genetics, monopolies are attentive to genetic modifications (plant and animal manipulation), and even with new species. This is a new item for exploitation and oppression. Always see both sides of the contradiction. All oppressions generate an antioppression class movement.

If one considers war, the development of strategic weapons causes more militarization of industry, larger investments in electronic war, costly weaponry and maintenance, which soon becomes obsolete. Their economic recession problems and their restrictions have made them foster the development of conventional weapons. Privatization of state-owned productive units is another world phenomenon. How much have the states obtained from productive units? All this is being transferred to monopolies, strengthening their power. All these matters determine the basis for this temporary recuperation.

If we analyze the government from the political viewpoint we will see there is a tendency to reduce its social functions. Who will carry out these functions? In imperialist countries, monopolies—for example—organize areas of social security (the AFP [Pension Fund Managing Companies]), health, and education. Something similar occurs in the area of security—not just armed security, but also regarding measures to prevent or to develop industrial espionage. All that makes us wonder about the reactionary state process represented by the grand bourgeoisie's dictatorship (in our case, the grand bourgeoisie and the large landowners who obey imperialism). Nowadays, the Armed Forces are becoming stronger and have more political decisionmaking capacity.

Look at the role played by monopolies. In the past, they divided the world, currently they perform government functions.

Regarding the international situation, the superpowers remain the same. Russia continues to be a superpower in view of its military power and its strategic atomic power. It has problems related to its international influence, it is riddled with domestic problems, and it is facing difficulties in international security. In Japan, Yeltsin suggested that the Japanese Government did not claim sovereignty over the four islands in dispute. Russia still has influence. We realize that international politics are undergoing a readjustment process and we are watching how the United States will structure its hegemony. Japan has become the second power, is paying increasing attention to its military weakness, and seems ready to increase and develop its own military policy. Germany is ruining France (its famous ally) to improve its currency.

Ideologically, they are not structuring a new ideology, they are proving that it is obsolete. They are playing increasingly with "the failure of socialism." In spite of all this, they support an economic recovery, after having no ideology, and support liberalism. These are old banners, updated to manipulate public opinion.

We must be very attentive and worry about the slow agony of imperialism, despite its temporary recovery. We must temporarily retreat because if we do not analyze imperialism, we cannot fight it. Lenin taught us that imperialism limits the development of productive forces. This is the general law. It will be decisive and prevail in the end. We can see abundant riches, while on the other hand we see 15 million children die every year before their first birthdays. We cannot overcome these realities because they are contradictory.

How do Empires Sink? (III SP)

We realize that these processes occur over long, not short, periods of time. During the slavery age, Roman Imperialism was the most developed and took more than five centuries to end. During feudalism, Spanish Imperialism was the most outstanding and took more than two centuries to fall. In capitalist times, it took more than a century for England to fall. Yankee imperialism consolidated as a superpower after the Second World War. This process has lasted more than five decades. We predict that it will be a long process, but it will evidently last less than the others, although we know it will take a long time.

Revisionism and Revolution

We have fought two sorts of revisionism: the old one that opposed the conquest of power just after World War II and the one we are fighting now, the essence of which is restoration. Thus, we have always fought revisionism.

CONCLUSION: We fight for the large wave of International Revolution that will come. Our Guide is Maoism!

2. [as published] The bureaucratic path sets its foundations and becomes feasible.

We begin by analyzing how they are setting their bases and developing a coherent strategy in the face of the People's War. In the economy it is clear that they set bases, not just by drafting laws, but also by implementing them.

Since 1988, we have had five years of recession. The GDP increased by 6 percent in 1993, after five years of a growing recession. Inflation decreased. Seen from a strategic viewpoint, the GDP decreased by 26 percent between 1982 and 1993, while the population increased by 30 percent. If it increased by 30 percent, it would still have to increase another 20 percent even if we disregard the increase in population. We must do our best to consider the steps they take and the increases as objective deeds.

As to "Politics and the Government," after electing their constituents and drafting the Constitution, they won the referendum and opened the path toward reelection. This is a way of setting the bases for reorganization the government.

Regarding "Peacemaking" and their antisubversive war, they began it through civic action efforts, continued it by

controlling the people, than they created peasant patrols, conducted psychological operations, and used intelligence actions to make arrests.

This period of bureaucratic capitalism has a goal: To concentrate power. This process needs: A long-term plan and a long-lasting administration to promote it, lead it, and implement it. As a result, there will be a reappearance of bureaucratic capitalism.

With the fall of our leadership and our central board, imperialism sees no need to interfere.

During his speech on 24 September [no year specified], President Gonzalo [Abimael Guzman] shunted the Program, the FPL [People's Liberation Front], the EPL [People's Liberation Army], the New State and its relative stability as far as the people's war was concerned, the transfer of the center and all that it entailed. He then established the basis of the masterly plan for a general political withdrawal.

The process of a counter-revolutionary war leads to victory.

The renewed thrust of bureaucratic capitalism entails a greater imperialistic control—"Reinsertion."

Border problems with Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil put our nation in jeopardy.

What is the situation of bureaucratic capitalism nowadays?

There are no powerful people's liberation movements, the proletariat and the people's struggle have weakened. Hence, it is neither powerful nor strong. Bureaucratic capitalism is thus fueled with renewed vigor, its plan is put into practice, and social and political rights are further curtailed. This will make the deep class struggle awaken the old revolutionary ideals.

Knowing how to place and handle the laws of every process puts things in their proper perspective and course.

The strong point, the most developed one in the democratic path is the People's War.

3. The People's War cannot be developed; it can only be maintained. There are six indispensable conditions for the People's War to be victorious:

1. Leadership by the proletariat.

2. Masses' bases.

3. Strategic centralization.

4. A new type of Army.

5. Prolonged People's War.

6. Favorable international condition.

Condition No. 6 does not exist, it is not the main one, but it is necessary. The most important is No. 1. The leadership should maintain a fair and correct political line, and wage a people's war following a course and direction established by the Class.

We have problems in No. 1 and No. 3. New problems, the course is not analyzed (by the foreign leadership). No. 4 must be assembled and developed; it is not just the name "EPL." No. 2 is not handled or managed as it should, given the new state of affairs. Who represents the people in the election? Nobody ... Thus, everything leads to a prolonged People's War; The problem lies in leadership by the proletariat.

What have we achieved?

First, we have worked for a long time to bring about an armed struggle and to further the People's War, a Peasants' Revolutionary war, supported by its own bases, means, and masses, without being submitted to classes. The People's War has lasted 13 years.

We have hit our three targets, semi-feudalism is less widespread, and the system is crumbling. We combated bureaucratic capitalism, proved that the latter fosters semi-feudalism; it controls the Peruvian state so that it can oppose the revolution.

We have fought imperialism head-on. The spread of our People's War has been a security problem for the United States since 1989.

The People's War has generated a New Type of Army.

We established a new type of state directed by the Class, which has never happened before. This had far-reaching implications.

In sum, the People's War gave us five successes:

1. The People's War is the greatest revolutionary social movement in Peruvian history in terms of program, development, and length.

2. It served to defend Maoism as a third, new, superior stage, and particularly to develop the strategic plan at a world level.

3. It raised the party's prestige to the highest level in its history, with the highest world's repercussion.

4. We accumulated the greatest revolutionary experience in Peru, Latin America. It is one of the richest in the world today.

5. We made a great contribution to the world proletarian revolution. It is recognized by the International Revolutionary Movement (MRI) as a vanguard theater for the World Proletarian Revolution. Today the revolution ends a great period. It is the hinge between two waves. It is an example of how to operate on our own efforts. It has shown that a People's War is invincible.

4. The leadership problem cannot be resolved in time.

5. New great decision, new great definition; struggle for a peace agreement and establish the bases for the second congress.

Concrete Tasks

To raise the MLM-PG even more; to struggle for a peace agreement and its implimentation; to define the importance of the people's war, the greatest Social Revolutionary Movement in Peru's history; to develop deeper bonds with the broad masses; to develop the international proletarian movement more. Mao said: "If a revolutionary party..." which is the single axis and the great fortress. We must defend and strengthen it against everything because the political and ideological structure is decisive in a protracted People's War.

End of the propaganda.

6. With masses and a party, anything can be accomplished. Let us handle the general military withdrawal, a consequence of the general political withdrawal. It is complex, difficult, but necessary.

Develop other forms of struggle in new conditions.

II. Round of talks.

1. First contacts.

2. Talks. Acts. Peace agreements, first letter, guidelines, second letter.

3. Current situation.

4. Dissemination of agreements petition.

5. Prospects.

III.Conclusions and Tasks:

1. Assume and fight for the new great decision and definition... Struggle for a peace agreement and establish the bases...

2. Party's concrete tasks.

3. Specific tasks.

BASIS FOR DEVELOPING A PEACE AGREEMENT

1. The Peruvian people support peace. "It is a necessity..."

2. The people favor a solution through diplomatic negotiations. Imperialism and other imperialist powers need this.

3. The state and the government need it to achieve development. Problems with current costs; terms; reelection and long-term plans.

4. The Party's action. How to assume it and implement it?: That depends if conditions can be proposed. Delegates Commission.

POLICIES TO BE ENFORCED

1. Do not engage in confrontations, neutralize and respond measure by measure.

2. Change our language, we are engaged in diplomatic negotiations which means we must follow them.

3. Define today's main target within the current context.

4. The issue is to handle sagaciously the objective convergence field. R'oo Rx'. [sentence as published]

5. It is a peace agreement between the PCP [Peruvian Communist Party] and the Armed Forces through the government. Our political positions have been confirmed, we told them how to resolve PCP-Armed Forces contradictions and this is what is happening.

- To develop struggles between two lines, seeking unity, strive for the disbandment to be as little as possible; the party it politically strong but we must be aware that only a few may remain, only the best; the best defense is to attack. Let the militants become a revealing mirror of the infamous attacks perpetrated by the enemy, not even the Armed Forces act like that.
- The other side also has a very clear objective: that we will never raise our heads again; that there will never be another People's War. No one can deny that it is using this issue to win today's referendum and the future reelection because the Peruvian State's long-term plan must be restructured and promoted. To make definitions and to be alert for strange machinations.

"We offer uncertain possibilities now in exchange for certain and real prospects in the future."

PRESIDENT GONZALO'S QUOTES

1. "We communists struggle with absolute conviction toward the objective: Communism; no matter how many battles we wage, how many setbacks or difficulties; not even the defeats we suffer in the sinuous path of victory."

2. "We are not deterred by risks, we are not frightened by danger. What is needed is accomplished."

3. "We communists do not expect anything but want everything, nothing for ourselves as individuals, everything for humanity: May Communism shine over the Earth."

4. "We communists have a single interest: Communism and in its name we sacrifice our only possession; our lives."

5. "Outside the party we are nothing, within the party we are everything."

6. "A clear mind, a resolute will and an inextinguishable passion." (Trilogy).

7. "We communists are free men because we handle the laws with which we change reality."

8. "We communists struggle tirelessly despite knowing we will be crushed as individuals and the class from which we derive will be extinguished."

9. "Man will be truly a man when communism is imposed on Earth."

10. "Communists are the mortar of communism."

11. "To be able to see sudden changes and make great decisions."

PRESIDENT MAO'S QUOTES

1. "Consequent materialists are intrepid, we hope all those who struggle by our side courageously assume their responsibilities, overcome the difficulties, the fears of reversals and ridicule, and do not hesitate to criticize us communists and offer suggestions."

2. "He who does not fear being killed in a thousand pieces dares to overthrow the Emperor: That is the intrepid spirit we need in our struggle for socialism and communism."

3. "To go against the trends is a Marxist principle."

4. "To dare to think, to dare to speak, and to dare to act."

OTHER IDEAS

"One must have the courage to look bitter truth in the eye."

"Say your truth and fight for it."

"To know men and their deeds you must know them first-hand and judge them from afar." [Latin American Libertador Simon] (Bolivar)

"Men pass but deeds remain."

"The most effective enemy weapon is unity among leaders and their subordinates."

"It is easy to start a battle if you have the conviction of absolute victory." (Marx)

SLOGANS THAT MUST BE USED

"To struggle for a peace agreement." (This is the main political guideline.)

"To take up and implement the call."

"To take up and combat for the New Great Decision and the New Great Definition."

"To close ranks around President Gonzalo and the Central Directorate."

"To take up the new Great Decision and Definition."

"Glory to Marxism Leninism Maoism."

"The PCP wants Peace, no more repression."

Shining Path To Continue Struggle Despite Guzman Appeal

PA0102132294 Paris AFP in Spanish 2131 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Lima, 31 Jan (AFP)—The Maoist organization Shining Path has stated it will continue its 13-year military struggle. According to its official newspaper EL DIARIO, which was sent to the Lima media on Monday, an "impostor" took the place of its imprisoned leader, Abimael Guzman, to issue an appeal for peace to the Peruvian Government in October 1993.

EL DIARIO said, "We know reactionary people have Guzman hidden and isolated in the Navy's dungeons. We reject the October video, which presents an impostor, a man they prepared for over a year to replace Guzman on television."

Shining Path thinks the government's campaign for "a peace agreement justifies the assassination of President Gonzalo (Guzman)," and so it asks that the health of its leader, who was arrested in September 1992 and is currently serving a life sentence at the naval base in El Callao, "be taken care of."

Nevertheless, the opposition magazine SI claims, in its Monday edition, an uneasiness prevails among high command members of the Navy, who are in charge of Guzman's custody, over the meetings held between the Shining Path leader and the imprisoned leaders of the organization at the officers' club in El Callao Naval Base.

According to official information, during those meetings they wrote the letters from Guzman and his comrade, Elena Iparraguirre (one letter remains unpublished), issuing an appeal for peace; and another one along those same lines from four imprisoned leaders.

SI magazine reports, citing reliable sources, that Shining Path's demands to achieve a peace agreement include "a general amnesty for all of its imprisoned activists," so they can hold a congress to establish the groundwork for peace.

The magazine, along with all Peruvian media, thinks a division prevails within the Shining Path between the group which advocates peace, led by Guzman, and a group of "hard-liners" who do not want to end the armed struggle, which began in 1980 and which is represented by leaders who are still at large.

Conversely, EL DIARIO calls the division "false" and denies Guzman wants peace; it does admit the imprisoned activists include a handful of "capitulators, now lackeys of the dictatorship (President Alberto Fujimori's Government), who are trying to plant the idea of capitulation among the people."

EL DIARIO also publishes a statement from female Shining Path members, currently at the women's prison

in Lima, who also recognize the existence of "a small revisionist, black group of capitulators that wave the flags of peace while shouting threats that will have deadly consequences."

To conclude, the January edition of the Shining Path newspaper, which is banned in Peru and the possession of which is proof of active participation in the organization—a fact that may be punished with a life sentence—is exclusively dedicated to proving its total loyalty to Guzman.

Paraguayan President Wasmosy Signs Joint Agreement

PA0102165894 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 31 Jan 94

[From the "Newspaper of the Airwaves" newscast]

[Text] Paraguayan President Juan Carlos Wasmosy and Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori have signed a joint political, economic, and cultural declaration at the Government Palace. The document was signed during the first official trip by Wasmosy, who was democratically elected.

Wasmosy arrived at the Peruvian Air Force's 8th Group in Lima at 1050. He was accompanied by the foreign affairs and industry ministers. At the 8th Group, he was welcomed with a 21-gun salute and met by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, ministers of state and congressmen, following which the National Police band played the Peruvian and Paraguayan national anthems.

After the welcoming ceremony, President Wasmosy and Peruvian Foreign Minister Efrain Goldenberg went to the Heroes of Independence Park to place wreaths on monuments to the nation's heroes. At the park, Wasmosy extended a message of brotherhood to the Peruvian people and reiterated his pledge to strengthen Paraguay's ties of friendship with Peru.

Wasmosy will lunch with Fujimori at 1330 in the formal dining room at the Government Palace. He will visit the Democratic Constituent Congress at 1600 and then he will attend a solemn session of Lima's Municipal Council, during which he will be declared an illustrious visitor and will be given the keys to the city.

Leftist Leader Barrantes Returns to Political Arena

PY0102150494 Lima CARETAS in Spanish 27 Jan 94 p 22

[From the "Undercurrent" section: "Frejolito Reappears"]

[Text] Over the past few days former Lima Mayor Alfonso Barrantes Lingan has been reappearing repeatedly in the media, giving opinions about the current political situation and the need to renew the leftist sector to allow it to participate in the 1995 elections. Frejolito's central proposal is that the United Left should become a party. This means eliminating the United Left's various factions, reorienting its socialist discourse with neatly Peruvian—"Mariateguist," as he put it—foundations, and leaving aside the dogmas of Moscow or Beijing. The leaders of the party, at all levels, should be elected democratically by grassroots committees.

A few days ago, PAP [Aprista Party of Peru] Secretary General Armando Villanueva del Campo hinted at the possibility of creating a "popular front" between APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] and the leftist parties. Observers believe that Frejolito could well be the candidate of this alliance.

Editorial Examines U.S.-Peruvian Antinarcotics Cooperation

PY0102151594 Lima EXPRESO in Spanish 20 Jan 94 p A26

[Editorial: "We Are Partners"]

[Text] When he arrived in our country Alexander Watson, the U.S. assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, said: "We have to work together, as partners, to meet the challenges confronting us, such as the scourge of drug trafficking."

This is precisely how it should be. Heroin consumption, for example, is on the increase in the United States. This in turn triggers the spread of poppy fields in Peru—in Cajamarca, Amazonas, part of San Martin, and Madre de Dios—thus creating problems that our country did not have before.

Despite this, rules should be set on how and where this joint collaboration is to be undertaken. With regard to coca, two special reports published by EXPRESO this week clearly state that the interdiction policy furthered by the Peruvian Armed Forces in the Huallaga region has been quite successful, so much so that it has caused the price of a kilogram of cocaine paste to plummet from $1,500 in 1993 to its current value of $200.

The cultivation of traditional crops like rice, corn, and cotton has been partially resumed thanks to the reopening of highways. This has nonetheless been a very difficult decision, as it entailed the impoverishment of farmers.

It goes without saying that the decline in the coca business in the Huallaga region does not necessarily mean that it has been reduced in the whole of Peru. It has shifted toward other areas, with resulting effects in terms of environmental devastation and corruption. The government has, however, already launched a thrust against drug kingpins. The capture of "El Vaticano" has been a great step forward.

What merits highlighting for the purpose of our discussion is that both the mass exodus of drug traffickers from the Huallaga region—the leading coca production center in Peru—and the arrest of "El Vaticano" took place precisely during the year in which the United States

withdrew nearly all its aid for the fight against drug trafficking. The effort has, therefore, been made by Peru—only by Peru. This all goes to prove that, at least on a short term basis, one obtains better results without U.S. aid than with it.

Does this mean that all joint endeavors should be left aside? Not necessarily. It means that this concerted effort ought to revolve around crop substitution rather than interdiction or police-related considerations. Peru has managed, of late, to develop a relatively advanced, shrewd, and intelligent technology that is also respectful of human rights. In this area, we would rather work on our own. We do, however, need financial resources for crop substitution programs, especially as we are channeling all our resources into drug enforcement operations.

These kinds of subjects are, incidentally, what the two partners should today be discussing.

'Strong Quarrel' Prompts Reassignments Within Navy

PY0102150094 Lima CARETAS in Spanish 27 Jan 94 p 21

[From the "Undercurrent" section: "Disagreements Within the Navy"]

[Text] Despite efforts to keep secret a meeting that President Alberto Fujimori and Vladimiro Montesinos held with Abimael Guzman and his friends at the Callao naval base, some details were leaked to the Navy, where there was a strong quarrel between some admirals who are against these negotiations and the politicization to which the institution is being subjected. As a result of this, some changes were introduced. Vice Admiral Ricardo Villaran Tapia, the chief of staff, was transferred to a "meaningless" post in the National Defense Secretariat. In 1992, Villaran was in charge of the General Command of Naval Zones (Congezonas), a key post with command of troops. Villaran is the second most senior on-duty vice admiral.

Another Vice Admiral who protested, Luis Giampetri Rojas, was also punished. He was designated chief of staff, a bureaucratic post with little power. Giampietri headed Congezonas in 1993.

* Exiled General on 'Self-Coup,' 'Machiavellian' Montesinos

94SM0188A Lima LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 27 Nov 93 pp 17-19

[Interview with exiled General Alberto Arciniega by Alberto Ku King M. in Buenos Aires, date not given: "Drug Trafficking Increasing Dangerously in Peru"]

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires—Brigadier General Alberto Arciniega Huby of the Peruvian Army, considered one of the best military strategists in Peru's fight against terrorism and drug trafficking, has charged that drug trafficking is increasing dangerously in his country.

Arciniega blames President Alberto Fujimori's government advisers for not following through on a single strategy to defeat the drug trafficking that has raged in the northeastern jungle of Peru for several years.

"Those (advisers) have done us the greatest harm and are the best collaborators the traffickers could have had because they have not allowed the application of any strategy since taking power," he stressed.

Arciniega says that despite the fact that "everything was in place to do so," the advisers had obstructed all efforts and even "kept us from implementing antidrug strategies at a time when the American Government was willing to engage in joint operations."

The 52-year-old general has been in political exile in Argentina since last January, having left his country on the heels of a military crisis involving him, one that eventually turned him into an enemy of the current head of the Army, General Nicolas de Bari Hermoza Rios. [passage omitted]

General Arciniega, who faces trial in his country for the alleged crime of insulting a superior officer and offenses against the nation, is one of the two Peruvian generals now in exile in Argentina because of the political crisis in Peru.

The other is General Rodolfo Robles Espinoza, who left Peru in May in fear for his life after denouncing members of the Army as being behind the disappearance of a university professor and nine students.

Having served as an Army officer for 34 years, 9 months, and 21 days, Arciniega has not lost hope of returning to his country one day "in order to cooperate wherever necessary," mainly in his area of expertise: the war on drug trafficking.

He says he bears no grudge against President Fujimori even though the latter publicly leveled accusations against him. However, he did criticize the chief of state harshly for the way he has governed and "for the mistakes he is making" in Peru.

Arciniega now spends his time with his wife studying English thanks to a scholarship provided by friends. He is also getting ready to apply to Harvard, where his well-known antidrug strategy and experience have been deemed worthy of study and made into a course: C16-91-1044.0, in the John F. Kennedy School of Government's catalogue.

Arciniega states that in 1989, while he was commanding officer of the Huallaga Front (the area considered the biggest drug trafficking factory and the strategic bastion of the terrorist group known as the Shining Path [SL]), a strategy was implemented that "enabled us to win the

support of coca growers numbering in the thousands and thus deprive the terrorists of their social base."

"My antidrug trafficking operations enabled us to destabilize the Shining Path and led to the recovery of the Marginal Highway, while at the same time winning the support of the peasant population," Arciniega recalls.

He admits leading his troops into many battles against the terrorist groups, but "my fundamental strategy was basically to consider the coca growers—some 60,000 families—as peasants rather than drug-trafficking criminals."

The general also claims that when he encouraged supporting the peasants as they gradually replaced coca crops with other products, the Shining Path began to suffer a resounding political and social defeat.

"It was the peasants themselves who threw all the SL's out while my troops and I engaged in simultaneous actions to break up the Shining Path's first People's Guerrilla Army (EGP) between April and December of 1989," he recalls.

He emphasizes that it was the Army and people together who waged the fight against the Shining Path "until Abimael Guzman finally lost his will to have another army and immediately changed tactics."

He also recalls that in 1989, when a number of intelligence reports stated that the leader of the Shining Path was celebrating his birthday in a place in the jungle known as paradise, "I went in that day to hit him with everything I had, but did not find him...."

Arciniega admits that the first steps taken by the Fujimori Government were positive, but only until just before the 5 April 1992 coup. On that date, with the support of the military, the chief of state dissolved Parliament and assumed extraconstitutional powers.

The former military official maintains that the drug traffickers are the biggest capitalists in the world and that they are capable of exerting their influence all over the world.

When asked whether he knew of the existence of a list of persons presumably connected with drug trafficking, a list which the then American undersecretary of state for Latin American affairs, Bernard Aronson, had brought to Peru the very day of the coup, Arciniega said, "I understand that that story has come out in a book."

The general also leveled criticisms at the presidential adviser for intelligence matters, former Captain Vladimiro Montesinos, to whom he attributes great influence over the Peruvian chief of state's decisions.

"The worst thing that could have happened to the Armed Forces is the presence of that gentleman, Vladimiro Montesinos, who has exercised some kind of strange power over the president, whom he originally considered as the right person for the times we are living in Peru and given the fact that the political parties have deteriorated," Arciniega says.

He accuses Fujimori's advisers and Montesinos of carrying out a series of political actions "that have done Peru great damage because they followed the wrong strategies."

For example, he cites the problem of terrorism, charging that the government and its advisers "have done precisely what Abimael wanted: to launch a campaign to put an end to institutions that took many years to create, namely, the political parties." "I agree that the political parties were not doing their job, but when those parties are given their place, they serve to guide public opinion, educating it politically," he explained.

He labeled the government's statement that the capture of Abimael Guzman in September of last year was the result of the 5 April coup "a lie."

"That assertion is false because Military Intelligence had Guzman and his entire clique on a list drawn up from the time that terrorism started and they were all the targets of an intense search," he said.

Arciniega laments the fact that a shadow has been cast over the figure of Police Lieutenant General Antonio Ketin Vidal, who executed the plan leading to the capture of Guzman and most of his command.

"I am not surprised about what is happening to Ketin because they also passed me over and froze my status when I returned from Huallaga. They apparently look for weaklings to occupy key posts so they will be servile to a regime. Otherwise they go to prison," he observed.

For example, he criticized the current minister of defense, General Victor Malca, who he said was "a little bully who only fights from his desk, but who has never had a chance to get his spats dirty in a combat zone."

General Malca signed the Cabinet resolution in January that ordered Arciniega's trial by a special military court for violating military regulations.

It should be recalled that as a military judge, Arciniega tenaciously opposed the fact that a group of 30 Army officers, including several generals, should be made to serve prison sentences in a jail for common criminals for conspiring against Fujimori's government in November of last year.

Arciniega repeated his accusation against presidential adviser Vladimiro Montesinos, noting that his "recommendations" to President Fujimori have caused him "to destroy an entire institutional structure in the Armed Forces that took years to create."

He emphatically blamed Montesinos for "hatching" an entire scheme to get "many representative and highly qualified officers" out of the military.

He warned that a "pruning" of the different levels of the Army and Armed Forces as a whole occurred and continues to occur, a pruning that "poses a threat to the very existence of the Armed Forces as one of our nation's guiding institutions."

He lamented the fact that an attempt is being made to force Army personnel, who were trained at the cost of great sacrifice, "to start acting as a Pretorian guard, going on to claim that the officers are not thinking about viable, appropriate solutions for our people."

"President Fujimori and his advisers are governing Peru by seeking weekly solutions to every national problem the country has," Arciniega said, warning that the government does not get at the root causes of the problems, but rather, encourages a strategy consisting of making the people dependent on the government.

"It is an erroneous strategy. I wonder: How long can such a strategy be maintained? How long will all of this continue when the president ignores the causes of our social problems?" he asked, turning his focus to the secular problems that have plagued Peru in recent decades.

He also wondered about the role of the Armed Forces given the state of politics in Peru: "How long will they go on adopting a political role not suited to them?" "It is destroying the military institution," Arciniega said in answer to his own question. "What we are seeing now, with the arbitrary replacements and retirements, breaks down morale and military discipline."

"Fabrications are used against many officers to get them out of the career path rapidly, without giving them any chance to defend themselves," he said.

He recalled the experience of the military during the 12 years of the dictatorial Armed Forces regime (1968-80). "It was an experience that taught us to respect democracy. We had been trained to respect the democratic system, to think about strengthening it."

"None of us in the military truly favored what is now happening, i.e., a dictatorship," he said.

He recalled that the Armed Forces respected the governments of Fernando Belaunde Terry and Alan Garcia Perez even though, in his opinion, the latter had a poor government that was poorly handled.

He said the military also respected Fujimori's election. "We made sure Fujimori would take office as president," he added.

Arciniega bitterly observed that, far from following a democratic path, Fujimori had yielded to advice from Montesinos, whom he labeled as a "little Pinochet who probably thinks that democracy is not a solution for these times."

Analyzing Fujimori's ascent to power in the midst of a grave economic crisis and the Peruvian people's great disillusionment with their political leaders, the former military official said the victory had even surprised Fujimori. "I am sure he must also have been surprised at becoming president," Arciniega said.

Concerning the constitutional referendum called by Fujimori's government following the coup, Arciniega warned that the people "are beginning to realize, are reflecting upon Fujimori's authoritarian plans. It all teaches us a lesson."

He insisted on blaming Montesinos for the political direction and institutional crisis that has occurred in Peru recently, particularly, he noted, when a president comes to power "without any political platform or party."

"That is why Fujimori is surrounded by a bunch of rascals who say 'This is ours,' and who assume Machiavellian power over the regime," he concluded.

"Montesinos is Machiavellian. He is not stupid. Since he knows military structure—he was lucky enough to be an aide to a foreign minister like General Edgardo Mercado Jarrin—he is learning how to destabilize institutions," Arciniega observed.

Arciniega said that unlike under the military government of the late General Juan Velasco Alvarado, when "there was agreement" on committing the Armed Forces as an institution to back a government, "the situation is different now because only a small group supports the regime."

"Today we have precisely the opposite situation because, little by little, they are removing the best officers who have democratic convictions."

"What one foresees for the Armed Forces is not only very serious, but dreadful," Arciniega warned, maintaining that Army officers are quite bewildered because "future prospects for any career military man are disappearing."

Echoing his comrade in exile, General Robles, Arciniega said there is no need for a coup d'etat to change the current political, economic, and social situation in Peru.

"I think the people are wise. The people will have to marshal their own courage because sooner or later they will realize that this political platform is barbaric," he said.

He said that President Fujimori's "luck is running out" and that international pressure after the 5 April "self-coup" forced him to redraft his plan and offer a new constitution.

Arciniega said the new constitution is an "aberration," adding that the argument that the coup was necessary in order to change the constitution "is a lie because the 1979 Constitution even had its own procedures for modification. The only thing needed was a consensus and not an outrage like the coup."

In the exiled general's opinion, "it is easy to foresee that the new constitution will not last because sooner or later the people will reflect and realize that it is a plan to keep one group in power."

"I do not think that Fujimori and Montesinos ever read the history of Peru or took the time to read the important things thoroughly, (....) and now they are playing with Peru's fate," he emphasized.

He said the people will reflect and see "that this is all a failure, that this man has been a liar, and they will not vote for Fujimori. The next person elected will have to institute a proper political trial of him and all of his advisers who have tried to destroy Peru."

Concerning General Jaime Salinas Sedo, now in prison for conspiring against Fujimori, Arciniega claimed that he would have advised him "not to attempt the coup" because "it was outrageous only two weeks away from the CCD elections. He played right into Fujimori's hands."

With respect to his political future, Arciniega admits that his military career is over, but says another phase is now beginning for which "I have to prepare myself, take a course in politics, and be ready to face challenges."

He said that Peru's future political leaders should be transparent, authentic, and not deceitful or mediocre.

Arciniega did not conceal his sympathy for a possible presidential candidacy of former UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, believing that "he is a man who has demonstrated his ability at the highest level of international politics." However, he said, the Peruvian people might not understand him.

At the close of this lengthy interview, Arciniega asked to listen to a tape of a band playing the national anthem and the Army hymn, "to help me recall the most intense times of my life in the military," he said. However, he confessed that he occasionally hums the words of a well-known tango: "Remember, my brother, the days when...."

Venezuela

Incoming Defense Minister Says Army To Obey Caldera

PA0102195994 Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 31 Jan 94 p D-1

[Report by Luis Guillermo Acosta]

[Text] Maracay—The National Armed Forces [FAN] will respect the decision by President-elect Rafael Caldera, who will take the oath of office on 2 February as president and commander in chief of the FAN.

This was made clear by Major General Angel Rafael Montero Revette, inspector general of the Army, who will be the next minister of defense according to the statement Rafael Caldera made to the nation. Montero Revette presided over a ceremony in this city at the Maracay Branch of the Army Noncommissioned Officers School, where he was questioned by some journalists on whether there would be problems with the Caldera announcement regarding changes in the High Command.

The next defense minister said he thinks there will not be problems in the FAN with the appointment of a new military High Command, because President-elect Caldera knows very well the military laws and attributions he will have when he takes over as commander in chief. According to Gen. Montero Revette, FAN personnel will begin observing Rafael Caldera's decisions at the very moment he assumes the presidency of the Republic. He added that according to the Constitution, FAN personnel are subordinated to the civilian rule exercised by the chief executive. Consequently, he concluded, there will be no problems in this regard.

Defense Minister Montero Takes Oath, Explains Priorities

PA0102194894 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 1550 GMT 1 Feb 94

[From the "The News" newscast]

[Text] A few moments ago Army Division General Rafael Angel Montero Revette was sworn in as defense minister. Following the ceremony Montero and outgoing Defense Minister Radames Munoz spoke with reporters.

[Begin recording] [Montero] I was just sworn in as defense minister. Yesterday and today the commanders of all the military forces, the Armed Forces inspector general, and the joint chief of staff were also sworn in, and the new military hierarchy will be confirmed tomorrow by President Caldera.

Initially I will have three priorities at the Ministry: social welfare; everything pertaining to sanitation, garrison housing, clothing, food, and so on. My second priority will be training; I will consider the possibility of conducting joint maneuvers by the entire Armed Forces during the course of the year. My third priority will be the maintenance and recovery of all the installations and equipment that may be damaged.

[Munoz] It is my belief—and I would characterize this as a piece of advice to the new minister—that it is necessary to consolidate the Armed Forces' spirit of democracy, support the country's development and, above all else, within that support improve the Armed Forces' efficiency in border areas to give the country the reassurance it needs at this time that its food supply will be protected. [end recording]

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